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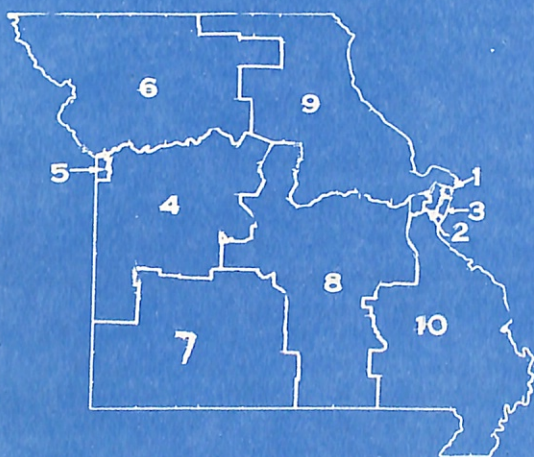
FOCUS

MIDWEST

A MAGAZINE SENSITIVE TO THE REALITIES IN OUR SOCIETY

ALL
YOU EVER
WANTED
TO KNOW
ABOUT

POLITICIANS



AND THEIR
CONSTITUENCIES

- ★ IN TEN
MISSOURI
DISTRICTS
- ★ IN TWENTY-FOUR
ILLINOIS
DISTRICTS

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

For the record: In addition to the two major party candidates, eleven candidates are on the November ballot in two or more states. They are: Eugene McCarthy (independent), Thomas Anderson (American), Lester G. Maddox (American Independent), Gus Hall (Communist), Roger MacBride (Libertarian), Margaret Wright (People's), Benjamin C. Bubar (Prohibition), Frank P. Zeidler (Socialist), Jules Levin (Socialist Labor), Peter Camejo (Socialist Worker), Lyndon H. LaRouche (U.S. Labor). (Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick heads the ticket of the National Black Political Assembly but he is not on the ballot in any state.) Only McCarthy is on the ballot in Missouri. The Illinois ballot includes: McCarthy, Hall, MacBride, Levin, Camejo, and LaRouche.

Judge Charles F. Galbreath of the Tennessee State Court of Criminal Appeals wrote a letter to Larry Flynt, editor and publisher of *Hustler*, a pornographic magazine, stating, "As the only appellate judge, to my knowledge, who has officially admitted that he enjoys reading some pornographic literature. I am an avid fan of your young publication. I have been a student of the law for more than a quarter century and I have never been able to understand why the reading habits of the citizenry should be the official concern of the government." The fact that it was written on court stationery, bearing the names of the other judges (and ran, as such in the magazine), caused a furor among the other judges. They have now initiated impeachment proceedings against Galbreath.

The largest one-year increase ever in the number of people in prison — 24,000 — was registered last year. According to a survey released in March by Corrections Magazine, the prison population now stands at 250,000. Prisons in many areas report overcrowding.

A recent Missouri Supreme Court decision is expected to result in increased efforts by banks to move out of inner-city areas and other areas of low profitability. It also raises questions about the banking industry's responsibility to serve low-income areas. The court's decision in effect upheld the State Banking Board's ruling that the Pine Lawn Bank could move to Ladue so that it could earn more money. The court's decision also leaves the State Finance Commissioner powerless to appeal to the courts when his rulings are reversed by the Banking Board. This could leave the public interest — which the commissioner is supposed to represent — voiceless.

Bill Kester in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

International Digest, published this summer, is the new publication of the American Council for World Freedom, headed by Fred Schlafly, an active right-wing attorney (and husband of Phyllis), with former Congressman Walter Judd as Honorary President. The publisher is Lee Edwards, the Washington public relations man who has been active for years in numerous right-wing movements and who inherited the so-called "China lobby." The first President of the Council was John Fisher, who for many years has run the American Security Council, leader of the military-industrial complex.

Rev. Emanuel Cleaver of the Greater Kansas City chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference submitted 1,287 names in support of a petition to rename Brush Creek Park after Dr. Martin Luther King. Park board member Dr. Jeremiah Cameron introduced the motion — it died for lack of a second.

Last summer Richard A. Gephardt, St. Louis Alderman and Democratic candidate for the U.S. House in the 3rd district, promised his constituents that he would not vote on the application of the St. Louis Children's Hospital to invade the airspace over Kingshighway with a building expansion jutting out from its present site. Gephardt is a member of the hospital's development board. When it came to voting, though, he discovered that no conflict of interests exists and he supported the 16-story addition over seven lanes of the boulevard adjacent to Forest Park. Incidentally, the measure passed by exactly one vote.



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OUT OF FOCUS LETTERS

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*Throughout the descriptions and presentation of data, the material has been
updated by FOCUS/Midwest under the editorial supervision of Ginger Harris.*

Letters

THE WAY

F/M: I am writing to tell you how much we appreciate your paper. The way you give the news tells what's happening.

Anne Mitchell
KBDY Station Manager
Montgomery-Hyde Park Neighborhood
Advisory Council, Inc.

RE: HALF-WAY HOUSES

F/M: The Politics of Mental Health makes it sound as if half-way houses are in every respect preferable to state institutions. That's debatable for the following reasons:

1. In the Chicago area at least, once a former patient is released from the hospital (assuming he does not return to his family if he has one), his chances of winding up in a half-way house in Uptown are pretty great because there is a very high concentration of such facilities in Uptown. As practically every adult Chicagoan knows, Uptown has one of the highest crime rates in the city. At least in the hospital the patients are safer.

2. My sister lives in a half-way house in Uptown. Her monthly room and board is over \$400. There are more than 100 residents in the place where she lives. In my sister's case, Social Security pays about \$200 plus and public aid pays the remainder. The owner and manager of the half-way house is one man and his wife. They are grossing over \$40,000 a month. Even considering salaries for nurses, social workers, kitchen and housecleaning help, I'd be willing to bet that this man and his wife gross (or net?) a minimum of \$100,000 a year. In a state institution, I would presume that the money is more widely distributed than this.

T. Mitchell
Chicago, Illinois

THE NEEDS OF WELFARE

F/M: With every prospective candidate for Political Office screaming for welfare reforms, slower rates of inflation, increased employment, and numerous other factors to be changed, let's take a serious look at welfare.

First the original purpose of welfare was to simply put a floor under the feet of the impoverished and to combat poverty. It was later expanded to include a number of other groups. So really the cost of welfare increased proportionally to the

number of groups covered and not the way many will have us believe.

Secondly the social stigma of welfare is not as strong now as it was prior to the sixties. That is, before the sixties many families, even though the services were available to them, did not apply for them because of social embarrassment and unwillingness to admit they could not make it on their own. Therefore in the latter part of the sixties and early seventies the economic situation changed drastically and as the social embarrassment of welfare diminished more people applied for assistance. Even today there are a lot more people eligible for welfare and not until it is a last resort will they apply for aid. This is one area I think should be pointed out to the American people.

Today's needs are an effective administration over the welfare system, sufficient amount of funds, sufficient professional staffs, and our goals and objectives aimed at a Humanitarian effort to combat poverty at all levels. My levels of Poverty are:

1. Employed but not sufficient enough to completely support the family,
2. Underemployed,
3. Destitute persons.

We should look beyond the financial cost of welfare to the social cost of welfare and I feel the American society would not complain so loudly if they knew the social cost of welfare and what it would be if the system was not there at all.

Freeman Scott
St. Louis, Missouri



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Endorsements

The suicidal tendencies of Democrats in both Missouri and Illinois are typified by the selection of Warren E. Hearnes, former governor of Missouri, as the senatorial candidate in Missouri and Michel J. Howlett, secretary of state of Illinois, as the gubernatorial candidate in Illinois. Both deserve to be retired from political life. It is not that their opponents are liable to support the type of people-oriented issues which we treasure; nor will they dare to rethink the social and economic assumption upon which political decisions are made in Congress — they are both too comfortable with the status quo — but their relative independence and their personal qualities make them so much more palatable than their Democratic opponents.

The election of **John C. Danforth**, attorney general of Missouri, and of **James R. Thompson**, former U.S. attorney for northern Illinois, would have a salutary effect. In Missouri it would once for all eliminate the Hearnes-faction from Democratic Party affairs. While Missouri Democrats are rarely distinguished by their progressive and innovative program, they did manage to elect a series of superb senators — Hennings, Long, Symington, Eagleton. The conservative element found a booster in Hearnes and gradually acquired a share of influence far out of proportion to its size. If the ideology of Hearnes held sway, the likes of Symington and Eagleton should never be elected — but they were. With Hearnes defeated, the Democrats are bound to rally around Senator Eagleton and with it there is hope of a more enlightened brand of politics — and even some old-fashioned enthusiasm for candidates. Moreover, in matters of environment, the death penalty and consumer protection, it is Danforth who takes the more liberal position.

In Illinois, Thompson is well known for his prosecution of state politicians, especially those in the Daley organization. As U.S. attorney until 1975, Thompson handled the prosecution of several Chicago aldermen and other local political figures. He also participated in the Spiro Agnew prosecution in 1973, emerging from a courtroom to tell reporters, "The man is a crook, no question about it." Compared to Howlett, who accepted a \$15,000 annual consulting fee from a Chicago steel company during his 16 years in state office, Thompson is clearly preferable. With Gov. Daniel Walker's defeat in the primary, Thompson offers the only political counterweight to the corrupt and regressive Daley regime. Our opposition to a Democratic Party ruled by Daley is not because he has created a strong party — we favor strong parties — and it is not because his policies do not reflect our point of view, but because Chicago is run by a closed circle of a few men for the benefit of a few. Social and political progress can only come out of the deliberations of an open society. Inevitably, Howlett will be beholden to Mayor Daley and become his faithful errand boy. Illinois deserves better.

In the Missouri gubernatorial race, we favor the election of **Joseph P. Teasdale** over the incumbent Governor Christopher S. Bond. Bond considers his major accomplishment, "above all," that his administration is honest. Honesty? We always thought that this might be a starting point upon which to build, but never that the "restoration of public trust and confidence in state government" should be the primary accomplishment of four years in office. It is unfortunate that a Governor should proclaim that this is his principal goal — ignoring the perplexities and problems and needs crying for attention and solution. State Democratic leaders have correctly portrayed Bond's administration as one "of image rather than issues, of mirage rather than substance."

Of the many fine incumbent congressmen in Illinois and Missouri facing tough competition, we single out **Abner Mikva**, **Tim Hall** and **Martin Russo**, all from Illinois, for special encouragement in their efforts to win re-election. Two other candidates — **Marilyn Clancy** (D) from Illinois and **Stuart Leiderman** (Independent) from Missouri — are running uphill battles against incumbents. They offer a real choice to the voters in their districts. We recommend their election.

We endorse **James Baker** for Attorney General in Missouri as the most promising and progressive candidate on either ticket. Baker has compiled an outstanding record during his six years in the state legislature, receiving awards from the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University in 1972 and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for meritorious service in the Missouri Legislature in 1974. He has led in the fight for stronger consumer protection, environmental protection, campaign spending reform, and registration of

lobbyists. He favors minimum standards for jails, more vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws, uniform standards for the sentencing of criminals, standards for half-way houses and nursing homes, standards in police training, and more coordination among different levels of government in prosecution and drug programs. He supports legislation to ensure speedy trials.

Baker's election would assure the services of an imaginative and new political personality on the Missouri political scene.

How area legislators voted on resolving energy problems

A study of 16 key House and Senate votes on energy issues shows that when the 94th Congress faced a tough energy decision it usually failed to take any positive action, thus preserving the existing situation, reports the *Congressional Quarterly*. President Ford won a surprising number of key votes, considering the overwhelming Democratic majority in both chambers.

A number of significant energy-related votes came on environmental matters, clean air requirements in particular. Electric utilities and other industries suffered a setback when Congress refused to strike from the clean air law the protection extended to pristine air, barring any degradation. The auto industry, backed by the Ford administration, was more successful, winning House approval of a delay in auto emission deadlines and defeating a Senate move to force earlier compliance with those standards.

The following table reflects the position taken on eight votes both in the House and Senate and our interpretation of "correct" and "incorrect" votes to resolve at least some of our energy problems.

	Correct	Incorrect	Absent
Illinois			
Sen. Stevenson	5	3	
Sen. Percy	3	4	1
Representatives			
Metcalf (D)	5	1	2
Murphy (D)	5	3	
Russo (D)	6	1	1
Derwinsky (R)	2	6	
Fary (D)	2	3	3
Hyde (R)	1	7	
Collins (D)	5	2	1
Rostenkowski (D)	4	3	1
Yates (D)	7	1	
Mikva (D)	8		
Annuncio (D)	4	4	
Crane (R)		8	
McClory (R)	2	5	1
Erlenborn (R)	1	6	1
Hall (D)	5	3	
Anderson (R)	3	4	1
O'Brien (R)	1	7	
Michel (R)		8	
Railsback (R)	3	5	
Findley (R)	3	5	
Madigan (R)	3	5	
Shipley (D)	2	6	
Price (D)	6	2	
Simon (D)	6	1	1
Missouri			
Sen. Eagleton	4	3	1
Sen. Symington	4	2	2

Representatives

Randall (D)	2	6	
Bolling (D)	7		1
Taylor (R)	1	7	
Ichord (D)	2	6	
Hungate (D)	4	4	
Burlison (D)	5	3	

Three of the four senators but only 10 of the 33 representatives cast a majority of "correct" votes — all of them by Democrats. Except for Missouri Democrats Ichord and Randall, all 14 of the representatives casting a majority of "incorrect" votes are Republicans.

Who gets the goodies?

Social need does not correlate with amount of Community Development Act money received among Missouri municipalities although this was the intent of the act, concludes a study reported in *Governmental Affairs Newsletter*, September, 1976.

Jerry Gabris and B. J. Reed, two University of Missouri doctoral candidates in Political Science, found that Community Development Act funds go disproportionately to larger, better-off, middle-class communities, partly because they are more likely to have a council-manager form of government; to Missouri cities with professionalized governments (council-manager rather than mayor-council type governments); to communities with a larger number of welfare organizations. These tentative conclusions are based on a 47% response from 760 citizens surveyed (354 responded).

The amount of CD grant tends to:

As the percentage of Blacks in the city increases	decrease
As the percentage of unemployed increases	decrease
As percentage of white collar workers increases	increase
As median housing value increases	decrease
As median income level increases	increase
As percentage of college-educated residents increases	increase
As median number of school years increases	increase
As percentage of families below poverty line increases	decrease
As number of families below poverty line increases	increase

The Community Development Act was passed by Congress to benefit low- and medium-income people, but in 1975 the grant formula was changed to reward cities with a higher absolute number of poor families. Such cities tended to have larger total populations and to have more professionalized city administrations. Therefore, rural outstate municipalities, having smaller populations but a higher proportion of poor residents, lost out in the competition for CDA funds.

Missouri Amendments and Proposition Endorsed

FOCUS/Midwest endorses the two Amendments and the one Proposition that will appear on the

FOCUS/Midwest

November ballot, although we have reservations about Amendment No. 1.

Amendment No. 1 would provide additional funding for the State Department of Conservation through a 1/8¢ sales tax. We favor this amendment because the Conservation Department is one of the more outstanding departments of Missouri's executive branch; it is highly professional and provides a wealth of resources to Missouri citizens. Current funding of the Department relies entirely on hunting and fishing licenses. Such reliance tends to make the Department biased toward services for hunters (the gun lobby!) and fishermen. Passage would tend to make it less biased and more independent of lobbyists.

The principle argument against Amendment No. 1 is its chosen source of funds: the regressive general sales tax. Proponents of the amendment had more appropriate alternatives, including a tax on throw-away containers, which would have been a controversial proposal, but one much more in keeping with the objectives of any department of conservation. Unfortunately, for political reasons, the proponents chose a general sales tax. Nevertheless, we favor passage.

Amendment No. 2 assures reform of Missouri's tax system by prohibiting a sales tax on food and medicine.

For four years bills have been introduced into the Missouri Legislature to reform the tax system. Each of these bills was killed by pressure from corporate interests. To overcome the legislature's subservience to corporate lobbying, 150,000 citizens signed petitions to get this tax reform proposition on the ballot. Missouri is one of only 14 states that still tax both food and medicine.

Proponents are called irresponsible for supporting tax reduction without making up the deficit. The Constitution does not allow an amendment to deal with more than one subject, and thus could not include alternative revenue sources in their amendment. Proponents have been responsible enough to allow the legislature an entire year — till Jan. 1, 1978 — to find alternative sources of funding, and also to make specific, though unofficial, proposals for alternative taxes; for example, not allowing corporations and individuals to deduct the full amount of federal taxes from state taxes.

Missouri is one of only 5 states that allow corporations to deduct their federal income taxes when figuring their state income tax liability. Missouri is one of 16 states that allow individuals to deduct their federal income taxes from state taxes; and 6 of these 16 states put limits on such deductions. Finally, Missouri is now one of 5 states with the lowest corporate taxes.

If the reform measure is passed, most families earning \$20,000 a year or less would save up to \$150/year in taxes. Municipalities could offset lost revenue by levying another 1/2% in local option sales tax on non-food and non-medicine purchases.

Opponents have claimed that huge amounts of revenue would be lost to the state and to municipalities if Amendment No. 2 passes. Their calculations are based on projections for three years hence, and thus exaggerate immediate losses in revenue. In fact, if other taxes grow at the same rate that sales taxes are projected to grow, the shortfall will be only 5%, which can be made up.

has very little incentive to construct the plant in the quickest, most efficient manner. Furthermore, with CWIP utilities have little incentive to restructure rates so as to encourage conservation of energy.

UE has advertised that CWIP will cost its customers \$234 million before the Calloway plant begins producing and selling electricity. But according to other testimony, the company admits that the true cost will be closer to \$913 million. Indeed, UE currently estimates the final cost of the Calloway County plant at \$1.5 billion; this is equal to UE's entire existing rate base, and thus will double the rate base. UE will therefore have to sell twice the electricity it now sells or charge twice as much for what it does sell. Bob Klepper, an economist and proponent of Proposition No. 1, says "if for any reason the power plant is not completed or is not needed when it is completed, investors will still get at least part of their money back, but customers will not."

As in every tax reform, this amendment takes from some and gives to others. It is as simple as that. We happen to favor giving to the poor and taxing from corporations — rather than the reverse. We are confident that Missouri citizens will see through the expensive campaign mounted by corporate interests who are trying to defeat Amendment No. 2. Vote YES on Amendment No. 2.

Proposition No. 1 is also facing an expensive campaign, this one waged mostly by utility companies both from in-state and out-of-state, who have contributed from \$350,000 to nearly one million towards its defeat.

Proposition No. 1 would prohibit electric utilities in Missouri from charging customers for finance costs and taxes on new plants until such plants are operational and in service.

Charges and countercharges made by opponents and proponents have made it difficult for citizens to evaluate this Proposition. But the basic problem has been the inability or unwillingness of the utilities to state clearly what their proposed plants will cost to build and to finance. Union Electric continues to use two-year-old construction cost estimates for its Calloway County plant, and has maintained that information as to equity costs (rate of dividend on common stock) is confidential information.

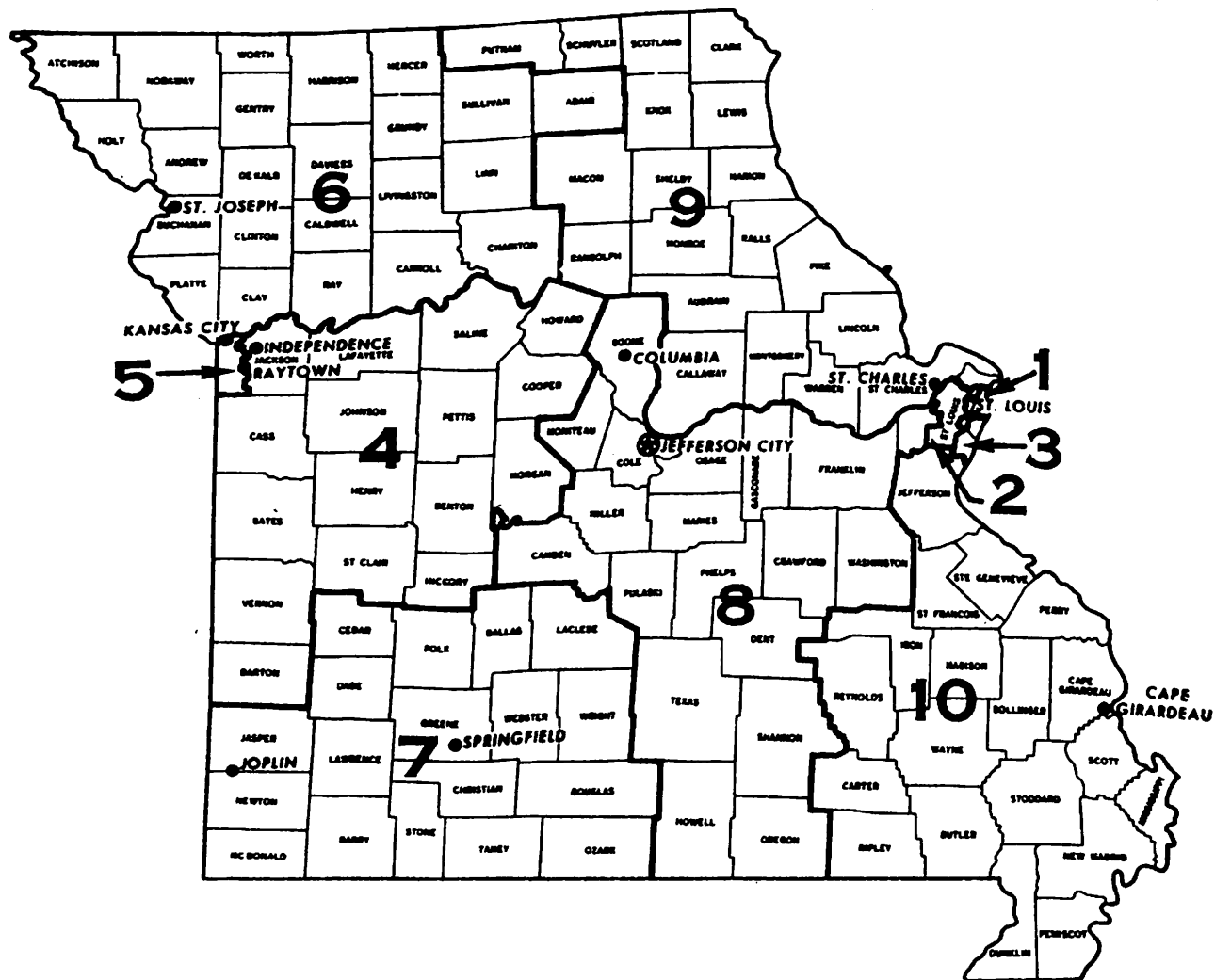
At its hearing before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission last December, UE officials testified under oath that it would be able to build the Calloway County plant with or without charging customers for construction work in progress (CWIP). UE now threatens its customers with blackouts unless Proposition No. 1 is defeated, because, they now say, they cannot build the plant unless customers assume some of the financial risks involved.

And there are many risks. First, the final price tag will depend in part upon 1) how long it takes to build the plant; 2) how efficiently the construction is done; 3) at what % capacity the plant will operate; 4) whether the government regulatory commission will require overhauling to meet new safety standards; 5) the future interest rate; 6) future tax rates and tax structure; and 7) future costs of fuel.

UE's present construction contract on the Calloway plant is on a "cost plus" basis. This, in addition to the fact that Missouri's Public Service Commission has already allowed UE to charge customers for financing costs and taxes on CWIP, means that UE

continued on page fifty-six

Page Seven



MISSOURI

Missouri is a border state, admitted to the Union in 1821 as part of the compromise that bears its name—a slave state whose borders jutted far north into free territory; a state which sent proslavery men over the border into Kansas in the 1850s to fight those sent in by abolitionists; a state which saw its own Civil War, one that was separated geographically but not spiritually from the conflict east of the Mississippi. Missouri was also a gateway to the west, an avenue for the great Yankee migrations west from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the eastern terminus of the Pony Express and the first Transcontinental Railroad.

Politically, Democrats have always dominated Missouri, but there has always been a Republican Party capable of winning at least some elections. The Democratic edge is the proximate result of Missouri's slave state background; Missouri's most famous Democrat, Harry S. Truman, had a grandfather who fought in the Rebel army, and his mother, who lived to see her son President, remained a Confederate sympathizer all her life. Truman's background—Southern rural and Kansas City urban—typified the tensions within the Missouri Democratic Party and also explains why Truman, who integrated the armed forces, could also react negatively to the lunch counter sit-ins of the early 1960s. Truman's combination of liberalism on economic issues, a mixed response on social questions, and an affection for old political friends still characterizes the state, if not the congressional, leaders of Missouri's Democrats.

Over the years this combination produced many election day victories—but not always by the large margins Truman won. Since 1948, presidential elections have been very close here; except for the landslides of 1964 and 1972, no presidential candidate has carried the state by more than 30,000 votes out of nearly two million cast. The big story here in state elections has been a Republican breakthrough after years of Democratic dominance. The first major GOP victory came in 1968 with the election of John Danforth as Attorney General. Danforth, a young heir to the Ralston Purina fortune, ran against Senator Stuart Symington two years later and took a surprisingly large 49% of the vote. As Danforth nearly pulled off that upset, another young Republican, Christopher (Kit) Bond, unseated the longtime state Auditor. In 1972, Bond ran for Governor and won by a solid 55-45 margin; the same year, Danforth was winning reelection with 63%, actually running ahead of Richard Nixon.

Both Bond and Danforth are young, 37 and 40 respectively; both are rich and went to Ivy League schools. Both have hired staffs with a range of expertise not ordinarily found in the sleepy capital of Jefferson City, and both have fashioned political careers out of attacks on the cronyism and old fashioned politicking of the once entrenched Missouri Democrats.

Danforth's near win in the 1970 Senate race surprised many of the nation's political pundits; it also surprised the man he nearly beat, Stuart Symington. Symington, then 69, had served three terms in the Senate after a successful career in business (Emerson Electric) and in the Truman Administration (Secretary of the Air Force). During the 1950s Symington became known as an advocate of greater military preparedness in general and of the big bomber in particular; he was considered formidable enough to have been a dark horse candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960.

Early in the course of the Vietnam war, this onetime Air Force oriented hawk became a committed dove, convinced that the war was futile and wrong. With seats on the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees—the only Senator then and now to sit on both—Symington was nicely placed to lobby for end-the-war legislation and against weapons systems like the ABM. He was part of an early dovish majority on Foreign Relations, and so he concentrated his efforts on the usually hawkish Armed Services panel, where he has had some successes. Second in seniority among the Committee's Democrats, he served as Acting Chairman when John Stennis of Mississippi was hospitalized after being shot in 1973.

During his heyday, Symington was quite a vote-getter in Missouri, actually running ahead of Lyndon Johnson in 1964. But his close call in 1970, and his age—he turns 75 when his seat is up in 1976—made it clear that this would be his last term in the Senate. He has announced his intention to retire, and the battle to succeed him should be a fierce one. On the Republican side, Danforth had cause to believe that his close race in 1970 entitled him to the nomination, and the earnest sort of oratory he showed in that campaign (if not the devotion to Richard Nixon he then professed) may very well make him the first Republican Senator elected in Missouri since 1946.

Among Democrats the front-runner was 2nd District Congressman James Symington, well-known in the St. Louis area and with at least name recognition in the rest of the state. Symington was defeated just barely by former Governor Warren Hearnes, and by a wide margin by 6th District Congressman Jerry Litton. Symington was hurt largely by anti-abortion sentiment, and therefore did not do well even in his backyard, the heavily Catholic St. Louis area. He also was hurt by Republican cross-over voting; Republicans were urged to vote for "anyone but Symington." Hearnes received support primarily from old-line party politicians and from anti-abortion supporters; the latter came out in force to support a constitutional amendment on the August ballot which would have provided for state aid to parochial schools. Hearnes was hurt by a 3-year federal grand jury and IRS investigations into alleged corruption during his term as governor, even though the grand jury did not prove wrong-doing on his part, and the IRS granted him a tax refund. Jerry Litton won the contest by a surprising margin, through his usual energetic campaigning, effective use of the media, and large campaign budget. Despite stark poverty as a child, Litton's ambition and energy enabled him to reach his childhood goals of becoming a millionaire cattle rancher and Congressman by the age of 35—exactly on schedule. Since 1973 Litton hosted monthly meetings with constituents, to which national political leaders were invited for questioning. In 1974 he began televising these "Dialogues with Litton," and during the 1976 campaign he broadcast these into the St. Louis area, where he was weakest. In January 1976 when the Supreme Court struck down a post-Watergate limit on campaign expenditures, Litton was able to increase his budget from

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	1,153,852	(62%)
	McGovern (D)	697,147	(38%)
1968	Nixon (R)	811,932	(45%)
	Humphrey (D)	791,444	(44%)
	Wallace (AI)	206,126	(11%)

1974 Share of Federal Tax Burden

\$5,758,029,000;

2.15% of U.S. total, 14th largest.

1974 Share of Federal Outlays

\$6,798,031,000;

2.52% of U.S. total, 12th largest.

Per capita federal spending, \$1454.

DOD	\$2,111,761,000	9th (3.08%)
AEC	\$109,136,000	14th (3.58%)
NASA	\$31,598,000	14th (1.06%)
DOT	\$184,857,000	17th (2.18%)
DOC	\$9,129,000	26th (0.57%)
DOI	\$48,749,000	17th (1.98%)
USDA	\$408,421,000	7th (3.28%)
HEW	\$2,176,385,000	12th (2.35%)
HUD	\$23,778,000	14th (2.44%)
VA	\$340,495,000	12th (2.49%)
EPA	\$46,484,000	21st (1.48%)
RevS	\$113,513,000	20th (1.87%)
Int.	\$222,654,000	12th (1.08%)
Other	\$971,071,000	

\$350,000 to \$950,000, far more than his opponents had to spend.

Tragedy struck before Litton could enjoy his latest victory: the airplane carrying himself, his wife, 2 children and 2 close friends crashed on the way to a victory party, killing everyone on board. According to Missouri law, the State Democratic Committee became responsible for designating Litton's successor, and was not limited to those who had run in the primary. James Symington immediately removed his name from consideration. William Hungate, who had achieved popularity during the Watergate hearings but had decided this year not to run for re-election to Congress, declined to be considered. State Treasurer James Spainhower mounted a last-minute campaign for the appointment by seeking endorsement from Litton's supporters. Three and a half weeks after the primary the State Committee finally named runner-up Hearnnes as the Democratic nominee. Over half the members of the State Committee had formerly endorsed Hearnnes, and this majority was apparently not dissuaded by the widespread opinion that Hearnnes could not win against Danforth because of defections within the Democratic Party. With both Hearnnes and Danforth running conservative campaigns against big government and against abortion, the only big issue that remains to distinguish them is the Meramec Dam. Hearnnes sides with members of the construction and recreation industries which favor building the dam; Danforth sides with environmental groups which oppose its construction. Due to the decline of one of Hearnnes' major issues, abortion, and due to lack of funds because of previous court battles and strong primary opposition, Hearnnes goes into the campaign as the decided underdog.

Missouri's other Senator, by his own admission, is a man whose name was not a household word—until July 1972 that is. When Thomas Eagleton was nominated for Vice President in Miami Beach, he was scarcely known outside Missouri. But at home his political career had been meteoric: circuit attorney in St. Louis at 27, state Attorney General at 31, Lieutenant Governor at 35, and U.S. Senator at 39. The race to become Senator was his toughest. In the primary, Eagleton had to beat incumbent Democrat Edward Long, who according to *Life* magazine had been receiving large retainers from one of Jimmy Hoffa's attorneys, and had been running investigations of, inter alia, apparent government harassment of Hoffa. In the general election, Eagleton had to beat suburban St. Louis Congressman Thomas Curtis, a respected moderate. Eagleton did both, but by only narrow margins; and in early July 1972 he expected vigorous opposition from John Danforth in 1974.

What happened when George McGovern, at the last minute, picked Eagleton as his running mate everyone knows. Ten days later, Robert Boyd and Clark Hoyt of the *Knight* newspapers found out that Eagleton had twice been hospitalized and received electro-shock therapy for depression. The response to the news was mixed. Many felt compassion, while others did not want a man subject to such problems a heartbeat away from the Presidency. For his part Eagleton took his case to the public, and McGovern announced he was behind him 100%. A few days later, however, Eagleton was dropped from the ticket.

Public reaction to McGovern's decision was unmistakable. The episode cost McGovern whatever chance he had to get his campaign off the ground. Young voters in particular—the people McGovern absolutely needed—were turned off, apparently on the belief that jettisoning Eagleton, especially after promising not to, was a reversion to the old politics, evidence of an unenlightened fear of mental illness. But even if McGovern had taken the opposite course, he would have been in trouble, stuck with a lingering, damaging issue which would have dogged him, without any explicit mention from the Republicans, through the whole campaign. Eagleton's failure to tell the nominee about his problem, and the fact that it was later revealed, irretrievably wrecked the Democrats' chances in 1972.

But interestingly, neither Eagleton's omission nor the revelation seems to have harmed his political career at all, nor has his refusal to disclose his medical records. And, to be fair, his illnesses—the latest episode was in 1960—seem not to have affected his performance as a Senator, either. He has, in fact, been an active, successful Senator. In his first term he became Chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee, and had the satisfaction of helping the capital city to achieve home rule in 1973. An original sponsor of the war powers bill, he broke away when it was amended in a way that he believed gave the President too much discretion in deploying American military forces; his warnings here may well prove prophetic. He was the chief Senate sponsor of the successful 1973 move to stop the bombing in Cambodia.

After he was dropped from the national ticket in 1973, Eagleton was immensely popular, more than ever before, in Missouri. That was enough to deter Danforth from running against him, and instead Eagleton once again drew his 1968 opponent. Curtis had served—and resigned on principle—on Nixon's public television board; he had been out of the state and, at 63, was not the formidable candidate he had been six years before. The result was an Eagleton landslide of 60–40 proportions. Curtis later became head of the new Federal Elections Commission from which he resigned in protest; he later supported Reagan. It appears that Eagleton has a lifetime safe Senate seat; one doubts, however, that he will ever appear on a national ticket again.

The three-way Senate fight clearly overshadowed the Democratic gubernatorial contest, which featured former Jackson County prosecutor Joseph P. Teasdale and State Senator William J. Cason in a nine-man field. Teasdale won by nearly 70,000 votes, thanks to a late media blitz and his image as a fresh face in Missouri politics. Although this was Teasdale's second try for the governorship, he was considerably younger than Cason (38 to 51) and stressed his independence from the party establishment.

Cason, making his first run for the governorship, relied heavily on party organization support. However, he failed to broaden his appeal and lagged behind Teasdale in name recognition. Cason was swamped in the major metropolitan areas, losing the St. Louis area by more than 40,000 votes and the Kansas City area by more than 30,000. Cason's rural background was an asset outstate, where he ran virtually even with Teasdale. But Cason's failure in the cities and suburbs was decisive.

Teasdale will face Republican incumbent Christopher S. (Kit) Bond, who had minimal opposition in his primary. Bond begins the campaign a clear favorite.

Despite the recent Republican resurgence in Missouri state politics, Missouri's House delegation remains Democratic by a 9–1 margin. Republicans have missed chances of picking up seats where aging Democrats retired (the 6th district in 1972) and have had difficulty holding

onto the one seat they have (the 7th in 1974). Although Bond has had few spectacular successes in his dealings with the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature, he is personally popular, in part because of his emphasis on government reform. He has pushed for open meetings and a ban on conflicts of interest for state employees. He claims credit for a reorganization of state government that drastically reduced the number of state agencies.

Bond has proved skillful in public relations. At the outset of his administration the Missouri Information Service was formed to provide material to the media on the governor and his programs. After complaints from the state legislature the service was disbanded, but the administration still provides films of Bond to television stations.

In Teasdale, Bond faces an opponent somewhat similar to himself - a young attorney who makes extensive use of the broadcast media in his political activity. A former Jackson County prosecutor, Teasdale gained the Democratic gubernatorial nomination on his second try. He gained statewide attention in 1972 through a walking tour across Missouri, but he ran third in the primary that year. This year he relied on a late media blitz to defeat State Senator William (Bill) Cason. Teasdale and Cason ran virtually even in the rural areas but Teasdale won by compiling large majorities in Jackson County and the St. Louis suburbs.

Teasdale has the same financial problems Hearnese has, but he is campaigning independently of Hearnese, while Bond and Danforth are running as a team. Although Teasdale's independence is geared to attract non-Democratic votes, it has hurt him within the party. He was embarrassed after the primary when the state committee turned down his choice for party chairman.

Teasdale has focused his campaign fire on the Bond-appointed Missouri Public Service Commission, criticizing it for granting utility rate increases. Teasdale has claimed there is a close link between utility lobbyists and the commission, and has promised to fire most of the commissioners if elected.

Bond has antagonized some voters in western Missouri with his attempts to find a site for a medium-security prison. The Bond administration has backed off from proposed sites in St. Joseph and South Kansas City after heated community opposition emerged.

Earlier in the year Bond's political image was scuffed when he was outflanked by Reagan backers in his bid to win the Missouri delegation to the Republican convention for President Ford. Not only did Reagan win a majority of the state's delegates, but Bond himself barely won a spot on the delegation.

Nonetheless, there are expected to be few conservative Republican defections from Bond, who in earlier campaigns has demonstrated strong appeal to Missouri independents and Democrats. Bond won 93 of the state's 115 counties in his successful 1972 campaign, building up a comfortable majority of nearly 200,000 votes.

Bond lost the traditionally Democratic city of St. Louis by 60,000 votes, but swept the pivotal St. Louis suburbs by more than 75,000 votes and carried Jackson County by nearly 25,000 votes. The Nixon coattails helped, but Bond's demonstrated strength makes this year's contest an uphill battle for Teasdale.

Census Data Pop. 4,677,399; 2.3% of U.S. total, 13th largest; Central city, 30%; suburban, 35%. Median family income, \$8,908; 29th highest; families above \$15,000: 17%; families below \$3,000: 12%. Median years education, 11.8.

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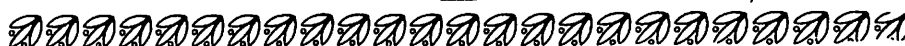


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Political Line-up Governor, Christopher S. Bond (R). Senators, Stuart Symington (D) and Thomas F. Eagleton (D). Representatives, 10 (9 D and 1 R). State Senate (23 D and 11 R); State House (113 D and 50 R).

The Voters

Registration 2,165,407 Total. No party registration.

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 47%. Blue collar, 36%. Service, 13%. Farm, 4%.

Ethnic groups Black, 10%. Total foreign stock, 7%, Germany, 2%.

GOVERNOR



Gov. Christopher S. Bond (R) Elected 1972, term expires Jan. 1977; b. Mar. 6, 1939, St. Louis; Princeton U., A.B. 1960, U. of Va., LL.B. 1963; Presbyterian.

Career Clerk, U.S. Court of Appeals Chf. Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, 5th Circuit, Atlanta, Ga., 1963-64; Practicing atty., 1964-69; Asst. Atty. Gen. of Mo., 1969-70; State Auditor of Mo. 1971-73.

Offices Executive Ofc., State Capitol Bldg., Jefferson City 65101, 314-751-3222.

Election Results

1972 general:	Christopher Bond (R).....	1,029,451	(55%)
	Edward L. Dowd (D).....	832,751	(45%)
1972 primary:	Christopher Bond (R).....	265,467	(75%)
	Gene McNary (R).....	56,652	(16%)
	Three others (R).....	31,179	(9%)
1976 primary:	Christopher Bond (R).....	273,022	(91.7%)
	Harvey F. Euge (R).....	24,568	(8.3%)
	William (Bill) Cason (D).....	330,377	(40.3%)
	Byron (Jim) Sparks (D).....	29,699	(3.6%)
	Joseph P. Teasdale (D).....	407,222	(49.6%)
	George D. (Boots) Weber (D).....	10,415	(1.3%)
	Milton Morris (D).....	11,945	(1.5%)
	Douglas V. White (D).....	5,561	(0.7%)
	Charles Baker (D).....	9,258	(1.1%)
	Roy Smith (D).....	4,660	(0.6%)
	Roy Bean (D).....	10,985	(1.3%)
	Leon Striler (I).....		

Voting Record / Cason

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 6-11 or 12-17); No. 62 (p 6 or 12); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp 3-4 or 12).

SENATORS



Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D) Elected 1968, seat up 1980; b. Sept. 4, 1929, St. Louis; home, St. Louis; Amherst Col., B.A. 1950, Harvard U., LL.B. 1953; Catholic.

Career Navy, 1948-49; Practicing atty.; St. Louis Circuit Atty., 1956-60; Atty. Gen. of Mo., 1961-65; Lt. Gov. of Mo., 1965-69.

Offices 6235 DSOB, 202-224-5721. Also 213 Adams St., Rm. 206, Jefferson City 65101, 314-636-9811, and Rm. 911, Fed. Bldg., 811 Grand Ave., Kansas City 64106, 816-374-2747.

Committees

The District of Columbia (Chairman).

Group Ratings / Eagleton

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	72	85	80	4
1974	83	89	88	18
1973	100	80	94	8
1972	70	90	67	21
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	80	48	65	
1973	89	33	-	
1972	100	60	75	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	88	50	10	
1973	80	-	-	
1972	89	50	0	

Key Votes / Eagleton

1) No-Knock	ABS
2) Busing	FOR
3) No Fault	AGN
4) F-111	ABS
5) Death Penalty	AGN
6) Foreign Aid	AGN
7) Filibuster	ABS
8) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
9) Cut Mil Brass	FOR
10) Gov Limousine	ABS
11) RR Featherbed	FOR
12) Handgun License	AGN
13) Less Troop Abrd	FOR
14) Resume Turk Aid	AGN
15) Consumer Prot Agy	FOR
16) Forced Psych Tests	FOR
17) Fed Campaign Subs	FOR
18) Rhod Chrome Ban	FOR
19) Open Legis Meetings	FOR
20) Strikers Food Stmps	FOR
21) Gov Info Disclosure	FOR

Voting Record / Eagleton

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Appropriations (13th). Subcommittees: Agriculture and Related Agencies; Labor and HEW; State, Justice, Commerce, The Judiciary; Transportation; Treasury, U.S. Postal Service, and General Government.

Labor and Public Welfare (7th). Subcommittees: Aging (Chairman); Education; Health; Labor; Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities; Special Subcommittee on the National Science Foundation.

Election Results

1974 general:	Thomas F. Eagleton (D)	735,433	(60%)	(\$647,143)
	Thomas B. Curtis (R)	480,900	(40%)	(\$362,804)
1974 primary:	Thomas F. Eagleton (D)	420,681	(87%)	
	Two others (D)	60,224	(13%)	
1968 general:	Thomas F. Eagleton (D)	880,113	(51%)	
	Thomas B. Curtis (R)	845,144	(49%)	

Election Results

1970 general:	Stuart Symington (D)	654,831	(51%)	
	John C. Danforth (R)	617,903	(49%)	
1970 primary:	Stuart Symington (D)	392,670	(89%)	
	Four others (D)	47,153	(11%)	
1964 general:	Stuart Symington (D)	1,186,666	(67%)	
	Jean Paul Bradshaw (R)	596,377	(33%)	

(Incumbent Stuart Symington not filed for re-election.)

1976 primary:	Warren E. Hearnes (D).....	222,943	(26.5%)	
	William McKinley Thomas (D).....	4,764	(0.6%)	
	Norman E. Tucker (D).....	2,007	(0.2%)	
	Horace Kingery (D).....	1,174	(0.1%)	
	Russell Millin (D).....			
	Jim Symington (D).....	211,842	(25.2%)	
	Lee Cd. Sutton (D).....	4,964	(0.6%)	
	Jerry Litton (D).....	379,880	(45.1%)	
	Charles B. Wheeler (D).....	10,792	(1.3%)	
	Terry Richards (D).....	2,141	(0.3%)	
	Jim Cannon Tyler (D).....			
	Gregory Hansman (R).....	20,173	(6.9%)	
	John C. Danforth (R).....	273,774	(93.1%)	
	Lawrence (Red) Petty (I).....			

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CONGRESSMEN

First District

The 1st congressional district of Missouri is the northern half of the city of St. Louis and a slice of the separate, totally suburban St. Louis County to the west. Because of black migration and the transformation of neighborhood patterns within the city, the north side of St. Louis is predominantly black, and in 1968 the fourth Missouri redistricting of that decade made blacks a majority district-wide. Boundary adjustments in 1972 left a smaller black percentage in the 1st, although still a majority. The suburban part of the district hugs the western city limits of St. Louis, and is mostly white; there are, however significant and increasing numbers of blacks here in University City, Richmond Heights, and Webster Groves. The socio-economic makeup of the suburbs ranges from blue-collar in the north (Normandy, Bel-Ridge) to white collar in the south (Webster Groves, Brentwood). Lying in the middle is Clayton, the St. Louis County seat, which is developing into a center of large high-rise office buildings; it is also the home of Washington University and its adjacent liberal academic community.

The 1st is the most heavily Democratic congressional district in Missouri, the only one of the state's ten to give a majority to George McGovern, despite his having dumped 1st district resident Thomas Eagleton from his ticket. For years the 1st was represented in the House by Frank Karsten, a conventional liberal Democrat. But after the 1968 redistricting, Karsten retired and in effect ceded the seat to then Alderman and erstwhile civil rights activist William Clay. Clay had spurned the traditional, decaying political machines of St. Louis, and had built up a following of his own among blacks on the north side.

Clay was one of the first militant, outspoken blacks elected to Congress and one of those who made a voluble instrument of the Congressional Black Caucus. Back in 1963, he spent 105 days in jail for participating in a civil rights demonstration. With this kind of background, he has not run particularly well in the predominantly white suburbs; indeed, in 1972, he ran 9% behind McGovern in the St. Louis County portion of the 1st. Nevertheless, Clay is comfortably ensconced within the current borders of the 1st, which were drawn to his specifications after rival politicians in the Missouri legislature threatened to create a white majority 1st district. In Washington, Clay sits on the Education and Labor Committee, a body currently so packed with liberals that this Congressman's voice seldom rises above the din of the rest.

Clay's opponent in November is Robert Witherspoon, 71, a lawyer with experience in civil rights litigation. Witherspoon ran unsuccessfully almost 40 years ago for the St. Louis Board of Education and later for Congress. More recently he held an appointive post on the St. Louis Election Board. He is running his very low-budget campaign mainly through the support of Baptist churches, rather than the Republican Party. He is strong supporter of the Anti-abortion movement and of "free enterprise."

Census Data Pop. 468,056. Central city, 66%; suburban, 34%. Median family income, \$8,485; families above \$15,000: 17%; families below \$3,000: 3%. Median years education, 10.7.

The Voters

Median voting age 45.

Employment profile White collar, 46%. Blue collar, 33%. Service, 21%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 54%. Total foreign stock, 8%. Germany, 2%.



Rep. William (Bill) Clay (D) Elected 1968; b. Apr. 30, 1931, St. Louis; home, St. Louis; St. Louis U., B.S. 1953; Catholic.

Career Real estate broker; Life insurance business, 1959-61; St. Louis City Alderman, 1959-64; Business Rep., City Employees Union, 1961-64.

Offices 328 CHOB, 202-225-2406. Also 5980 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis 63112, 314-725-5770.

Committees

Education and Labor (13th). Subcommittees: Equal Opportunities; Labor-Management Relations; Labor Standards.

Post Office and Civil Service (9th). Subcommittees: Employee Political Rights and Inter-governmental Programs (Chairman); Postal Facilities, Mail, and Labor Management.

Election Results

1974 general:	William (Bill) Clay (D)	61,933	(68%)	(\$43,810)
	Arthur O. Martin (R)	28,707	(32%)	(\$1,881)
1974 primary:	William (Bill) Clay (D)	39,141	(68%)	
	C. W. Gates (D)	18,150	(32%)	
1972 general:	William (Bill) Clay (D)	95,098	(64%)	(\$17,480)
	Richard O. Funsch (R)	53,596	(36%)	(\$59,672)
1976 primary:	Takuri Tei (D)	4,535	(9.2%)	
	Felix J. Panlasigui (D)	2,799	(5.7%)	
	William (Bill) Clay (D)	26,913	(54.7%)	
	Dan E. McGovern (D)	6,913	(14.1%)	
	Arnold Totter (D)	1,315	(2.7%)	
	Elsa Debra Hill (D)	2,314	(4.7%)	
	James Pal Troupe (D)	4,386	(8.9%)	
	Arthur O. (Jello) Martin (R)	1,823	(20.7%)	
	Percy "Doc" Gray (R)	2,644	(30.1%)	
	Robert L. Witherspoon (R)	4,326	(49.2%)	

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	45,765	(31%)
	McGovern (D)	101,307	(69%)
1968	Nixon (R)	41,869	(26%)
	Humphrey (D)	110,310	(68%)
	Wallace (AI)	9,671	(6%)

Group Ratings / Clay

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	100	100	91	4
1974	93	100	100	0
1973	100	100	95	8
1972	81	88	100	7
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	90	64	82	
1973	91	69	100	
1972	100	75	54	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	100	10	20	
1973	100	-	-	
1972	-	0	0	

Key Votes / Clay

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	ABS
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	ABS
6) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	ABS
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	ABS
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Clay

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Voting Record / Troupe

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18) and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	127,123	(63%)
	McGovern (D)	75,564	(37%)
1968	Nixon (R)	85,185	(46%)
	Humphrey (D)	79,326	(43%)
	Wallace (AI)	18,994	(10%)

Group Ratings / Symington

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	79	95	90	19
1974	69	90	100	14
1973	83	90	100	8
1972	81	91	71	0

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	83	57	69
1973	92	80	88
1972	90	64	66

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	77	27	14
1973	83	-	-
1972	100	18	33

Key Votes / Symington

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	ABS
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	ABS
6) Gov Abortn Aid	ABS
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	ABS
10) EZ Voter Regis	ABS
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / J. Symington

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Second District

The 2d congressional district of Missouri is the heart of St. Louis County, a jurisdiction that lies adjacent to, but includes no part of, the city of St. Louis. The county originally set itself apart so that its predominantly rural affairs would not get lost in the business of the city; now St. Louis City is dwarfed in population and wealth by its suburban offspring. In the northern part of the 2d district, along Interstate 70, are blue collar communities like Jennings, Ferguson, Berkley, and Airport Township. Most of the people here grew up on the north side of St. Louis, which is now heavily black; many work in the giant McDonnell-Douglas aircraft plants located on the north side of St. Louis County. To the south of the district are WASPy, traditionally Republican suburbs like Kirkwood and Webster Groves, fully occupied in the 1950s and placid in their conservatism. To the west, the 2d has the bulk of the Jewish population of metropolitan St. Louis in University City and the towns lying north of the Daniel Boone Freeway. Here too is the ultraposh city of Ladue, home of most members of the St. Louis establishment (median family income in 1970: \$32,000).

Altogether, the diverse makeup of the 2d district produces election results that are exceedingly close to those produced by the state as a whole and, indeed, by the nation as a whole. Thus in 1972, the 2d was carried comfortably by Richard Nixon, but at the same time it easily reelected its Democratic Congressman. Until 1968, the 2d was represented by a Republican well respected in the councils of his party, Thomas Curtis; he ran for the Senate that year and barely lost to Thomas Eagleton and now, after another loss, is the new Chairman of the new Federal Elections Commission.

Curtis's successor is James W. Symington, son of Senator Stuart Symington (and grandson of James Wadsworth, onetime Senator from New York). Like his father, Symington had held a number of important posts in a Democratic national administration; and like his father, he returned to Missouri when that administration's time seemed to be up and ran for office. Symington won easily in the 2d, and has been reelected without difficulty ever since. In the House, despite his wide range of administrative experience, he at first chose to play the role of the quiet, dutiful freshman.

Congressman Symington's decision to run for the Senate opened his 2nd district seat. With an effective television campaign and extensive Catholic and blue-collar support, State Senator Robert Young, 52, won a very narrow victory in the Democratic primary over former State Representative Jack Schramm, 44. Young has been in the state legislature since 1963. A pipefitter and a conservative Catholic, he carried the strongly Democratic northern part of the district and ran respectably in Schramm's stronghold in the southern portion. Although Schramm held an anti-abortion and pro-parochial position, Young's supporters associated Schramm with the opposite positions. For example, Young's sister-in-law obtained the mailing list of a parish within Schramm's township, sent letters addressed Dear Parishioner to notify them of Young's support for Proposition 7 (Parochialism), and enclosed a tear-sheet from Who's Who in the Midwest, showing Schramm to be a former Board member of the American Jewish Congress, an organization which opposed Proposition 7. The tear-sheet included Schramm's brother, whose wife's maiden name, Susman, had been bracketed in ink. Although no relation to abortion-rights attorney Frank Susman, Schramm's sister-in-law and thus Jack Schramm himself were linked in voters' minds with the pro-abortion position.

Front-running Republican State Representative Robert Synder, 58, of Kirkwood, won a narrow victory over former newscaster Bob Chase, 49. The GOP leader in the state house, he had broader support within the party than the other major candidates, John Cooper, 48, of Webster Groves and Chase. Synder finished second in the 1968 primary with 39.3% of the vote. Cooper won the 1972 primary for the House seat, but was beaten by Symington in the general election by a wide margin. Snyder's victory this time may be partly due to his strong anti-abortion position, while Chase decried the one-issue stance taken by anti-abortionists.

Census Data Pop. 468,808. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$12,597; families above \$15,000: 35%; families below \$3,000: 4%. Median years education, 12.4.

The Voters

Median voting age 42.

Employment profile White collar, 63%. Blue collar, 28%. Service, 9%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 4%. Total foreign stock, 12%. Germany, 2%; Italy, 1%.



Rep. James W. Symington (D) Elected 1968; b. Sept. 28, 1927, Rochester, N.Y.; home, Clayton; Yale U., A.B. 1950, Columbia U., LL.B. 1954; Episcopalian.

Career USMC, 1945-46; Asst. St. Louis City Counselor, 1954-55; Practicing atty., 1955-58, 1960-61; U.S. Foreign Service, London, 1958-60; Deputy Dir., Food for Peace, 1961-62; Admin. Asst. to U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, 1962-63; Dir., Pres. Comm. on Juvenile Delinquency, 1965-66; Chf. of Protocol, U.S. Dept. of State, 1966-68.

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Committees

Interstate and Foreign Commerce (14th). Subcommittees: Health and Environment.

Science and Technology (5th). Subcommittees: Energy Research, Development and Demonstration; Science, Research, and Technology (Chairman); Space Science and Applications.

Election Results

1974 general:	James W. Symington (D)	85,977	(61%)	(\$74,762)
	Howard C. Ohlendorf (R)	55,026	(39%)	(\$43,330)
1974 primary:	James W. Symington (D)	36,257	(72%)	
	John P. Doyle (D)	14,419	(28%)	
1972 general:	James W. Symington (D)	134,332	(64%)	(\$67,938)
	John W. Cooper, Jr. (R)	77,192	(36%)	(\$30,298)
1976 primary:	Robert A. Young (D)	42,554	(48.1%)	
	Jack J. Schramm (D)	41,462	(46.9%)	
	Fred E. Bradley (D)	2,932	(3.3%)	
	Edward P. Roche (D)	1,464	(1.7%)	
	Robert H. Blanke (R)	1,241	(3.4%)	
	Robert O. Snyder (R)	13,879	(38.5%)	
	Hugh V. Murray (R)	979	(2.7%)	
	Jack Cooper (R)	3,031	(8.4%)	
	John R. Stoeffler (R)	1,663	(4.6%)	
	Bob Chase (R)	13,550	(37.6%)	
	Leo Eickhoff (R)	1,738	(4.8%)	

Voting Record / Young

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 10-11 or 18); No. 62 (p 6 or 12); No. 55 (p 4 or 11); and No. 47 (pp 3-4 or 12).

Voting Record / Schramm

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18) and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Voting Record / Snyder

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 6-11 or 12-17); No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18); and No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18).

Third District

Missouri's 3d congressional district consists of the south side of the city of St. Louis and an adjacent portion of suburban St. Louis County. The line drawn through the middle of St. Louis to separate the 1st from the 3d district also neatly separates the predominantly black part of the city from that part in the 3d district which remains overwhelmingly (92% in 1970, and not much lower today) white. Here on the south side there are still signs of the German immigrants who made St. Louis one of the nation's *gemütlichkeit* cities of the nineteenth century; today, as if in memory, an *Altenheim* (old people's home) still sits on the banks of the Mississippi. The most famous of the St. Louis Germans was Carl Schurz, a friend of Lincoln, a northern officer in the Civil War, a Secretary of the Interior, and U.S. Senator from Missouri.

Today in the ethnic and elderly neighborhoods of the south side of St. Louis (median voting age in this district is 50), people have stayed with a New Deal-bred Democratic preference or, in the slightly better off streets at the edge of the city, have remained Republican. The suburban portion of the district is a natural extension of the city. Most of the people now living here moved out along the radial avenues extending out of St. Louis. The suburban voters tend to be somewhat more conservative and Republican than their counterparts in the city, though their parents probably voted for Roosevelt and Truman.

Like many women elected to Congress, the Representative from the 3d district, Leonor K. Sullivan, won her seat following the death of her husband Congressman John B. Sullivan, who served intermittently during the 1940s and 1950s. A Republican captured the seat in a 1951 special election to fill Sullivan's vacancy, but Mrs. Sullivan beat him in 1952 and has won easily ever since.

Mrs. Sullivan is currently a high ranking member of the Banking and Currency Committee, although she was passed over for the more assertive Henry Reuss of Wisconsin when in 1975 longtime Chairman Wright Patman was successfully ousted. For many years, she had been Chairman of its Consumer Affairs Subcommittee, in which capacity she led the fight for the truth-in-lending law, her major congressional achievement; this was won over the strong opposition of the banking lobby and big retailers and amid general public apathy. Mrs. Sullivan lost that chair when Reuss took over the full committee, ostensibly because she has been a chairman of a full committee, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, since 1973; the more likely reason is that she supported Patman in the Patman-Reuss fight. Mrs. Sullivan is a traditionalist in many ways, despite her crusade for truth-in-lending; as head of Merchant Marine she has backed the continuation of heavy government subsidies to American shipping and shipbuilding industries and to members of the various maritime unions.

On the more personal level, Mrs. Sullivan is the woman member of Congress least sympathetic to the women's liberation movement and its ideas. She voted against the Equal Rights Amendment, the only Congresswoman to do so because she feared it would overthrow women's protective laws. She shuns terms like Ms., preferring to refer to herself as Mrs. John B. Sullivan; she insists on the coy woman's prerogative of keeping her age secret. The last is not a bad political move, since she is now somewhere over 70. In any case, it is a little sad to see this more than usually productive member of Congress so at odds with the trends and fads of the times; she is a woman who has missed out, but not by much, from a position of real legislative eminence.

Democratic Representative Leonor K. Sullivan's decision to retire created an opening in the 3rd District. Benefitting from a 16,000-vote advantage in the St. Louis city portion of the district, Alderman Richard A. Gephardt easily won the Democratic primary over State Senator Donald J. Gralike. Gralike was only able to carry the suburban portion of the district by 1,000 votes.

Joseph L. Badaracco, a former president of the St. Louis board of aldermen, swept the Republican primary by a 2-1 margin over political newcomer Paul A. Koch. Badaracco won in both the city and the suburbs and will face Gephardt in the general election. He plans to run a low-key campaign without the use of television.

Census Data Pop. 467,544. Central city, 67%; suburban, 33%. Median family income, \$10,199; families above \$15,000: 20%; families below \$3,000: 8%. Median years education, 10.6.

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	102,959	(58%)
	McGovern (D)	73,362	(42%)
1968	Nixon (R)	70,887	(40%)
	Humphrey (D)	85,327	(48%)
	Wallace (AI)	21,754	(12%)

Voting Record / Gralike
For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 10-11 or 18);
No. 62 (p 6 or 12); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or
14-18); and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

The Voters

Median voting age 47.

Employment profile White collar, 52%. Blue collar, 36%. Service, 12%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 6%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 15%. Germany, 4%; Italy, 2%.

Election Results

1974 general:	Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan (D) ...	96,201	(75%)	(\$27,800)
	JoAnn P. Raisch (R)	31,489	(25%)	(\$2,254)
1974 primary:	Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan (D) ...	44,959	(90%)	
	Victoria Schmidt (D)	3,799	(8%)	
	Asen Dodov (D)	1,395	(3%)	
1972 general:	Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan (D) ...	124,365	(70%)	(\$29,225)
	Albert Holst (R)	54,523	(30%)	(\$5,151)
Incumbent Sullivan has not filed for re-election.				
1976 primary:	Donald J. Gralike (D).....	31,870	(37.7%)	
	Richard A. Gephardt (D).....	46,894	(55.5%)	
	Victoria Schmidt (D).....	3,088	(3.7%)	
	Marie S. Nowak (D).....	2,625	(3.1%)	
	Joseph L. Badaracco (R).....	16,506	(66.5%)	
	Paul A. Koch (R).....	8,329	(33.5%)	

Fourth District

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	131,874	(69%)
	McGovern (D)	60,472	(31%)
1968	Nixon (R)	85,872	(48%)
	Humphrey (D)	70,811	(40%)
	Wallace (AI)	22,118	(12%)

The home district of the late Harry S. Truman was the 4th congressional district of Missouri. Truman's background—he never represented the district in the House, but served in the Senate from 1935 to 1945—tells us a lot about the district, even today. Truman was born in the town of Lamar, in the southern end of the 4th, near the Oklahoma and Arkansas borders. His family was Democratic, which means that in his mother's case at least it cherished a lifelong sympathy for the cause of the Confederacy. The largest city in the 4th district way at its other end, is Independence (pop. 111,000), an old courthouse town, where Truman lived on what is now Truman Road in a nineteenth century Victorian house belonging to his wife's family. Just a few blocks away is the Jackson County Courthouse where Truman was once County Judge (an administrative post) before his election to the Senate. In those days Independence was a small town, the incongruous seat of a county which included bustling Kansas City. Today, the suburban growth emanating from Kansas City has so ballooned the population of Independence that Truman's old Victorian town has almost entirely been engulfed.

The 4th district is a combination of rural Missouri counties, like the one Truman grew up in, and part of the Kansas City metropolitan area, where he began his political career. Its political history is almost totally Democratic. The rural counties, though to a lessened extent in recent years, clung to the party which had been the more sympathetic to slavery (or most unsympathetic to abolition). Kansas City has been Democratic since before the days of Tom Prendergast, the political boss who gave Truman his start and later ended up in jail. Truman himself had no part in Prendergast's graft but he was certainly a beneficiary of the fraudulently high number of votes the machine piled up; indeed, Jackson County has never again cast—or been reported to cast—so many votes as it did in the 1936 presidential election.

Like Truman, the current Congressman from the 4th district also served as Jackson County Judge, in William Randall's case, from 1946 to 1959. He won his seat in the House in a 1959 special election, and has since then been accumulating seniority on the Armed Services and Government Operations Committees. Particularly on Armed Services, Randall has aligned himself with the Committee's more conservative Democrats; which is to say that when in doubt he supports the position taken by the military. On domestic issues, Randall is significantly more conservative than most northern Democrats.

Randall's approach looks like a formula tailor-made for the 4th district. But for a longtime incumbent, he has not done especially well at the polls. To be sure, he did receive 68% of the vote in 1974, but that was a heavily Democratic year; two years before, he had got only 57%.

Now at age 67, Randall is retiring. In his place, State Senator Ike Skelton won the Democratic nomination, defeating State Senator Jack E. Gant and seven other rivals by a comfortable margin. Skelton was the only candidate from the rural part of this sprawling district and succeeded in winning a plurality of the farm and small town vote. Gant, from populous Jackson County, had the endorsement of Randall and segments of organized labor. However, he was unable to overcome Skelton's rural advantage.

Independence Mayor Richard A. King won the two-man Republican primary over State Representative Robert T. Johnson. King, a protégé of Governor Bond, built up most of his margin in Jackson County and ran nearly even with Johnson in the rural portion of the district. Johnson enjoyed extensive backing from farm groups and legislators, but King's well-organized and well-financed campaign neutralized this advantage.

Census Data Pop. 466,940. Central city, 2%; suburban, 47%. Median family income, \$8,740; families above \$15,000: 15%; families below \$3,000: 12%. Median years education, 12.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 42%. Blue collar, 38%. Service, 12%. Farm, 8%.

Ethnic groups Black, 2%. Total foreign stock, 4%. Germany, 1%.

Election Results

1974 general:	William J. Randall (D)	82,447	(68%)	(\$19,596)
	Claude Patterson (R)	39,055	(32%)	(\$12,771)
1974 primary:	William J. Randall (D)	40,578	(87%)	
	Forest Nave, Jr. (D)	6,303	(13%)	
1972 general:	William J. Randall (D)	108,131	(57%)	(\$24,531)
	Raymond E. Barrows (R)	80,228	(43%)	(\$5,922)
1976 primary:	Adelaide L. Miller (D)	2,974	(3.6%)	
	Lane Leard (D)	1,067	(1.3%)	
	Don Manford (D)	12,774	(15.7%)	
	Art Lamb (D)	3,223	(4.0%)	
	Jack E. Gant (D)	24,172	(29.6%)	
	Ike Skelton (D)	31,664	(38.8%)	
	Ross Edwards (D)	3,738	(4.6%)	
	W. M. "Boyd" Biggs (D)	628	(0.8%)	
	Forest "Bud" Nave (D)	1,333	(1.6%)	
	Robert T. (Bob) Johnson (R)	9,235	(44.6%)	
	Richard A. King (R)	11,467	(55.4%)	

Incumbent Randall has not filed for re-election.

Fifth District

The 5th congressional district of Missouri includes the heart of Kansas City—the central portion of the city, including its downtown and most of its industrial area, but not the vast expanse recently annexed north of the Missouri River. This is the heart of the Kansas City metropolitan area, an important manufacturing center and commercial hub for the farmlands of western Missouri and most of Kansas. The 5th includes the down town skyscrapers of Kansas City that sit up on the bluffs above the Missouri and the Kansas City stockyards; all of the city's large black ghetto and many of its white working class neighborhoods; and the upper income suburbs of the southwest portion of the city, just across the state line from the high income suburbs of Johnson County, Kansas.

In 1948 a 32-year-old World War II veteran who had only lived in Kansas City a couple of years, Richard Bolling, was elected Congressman from the 5th district. Democrat Bolling soon became one of Speaker Sam Rayburn's proteges, and the old Texan schooled him in the ways of the House. He won a seat on the Rules Committee, and after Rayburn's death in 1961, Bolling failed to get on track; John McCormack succeeded automatically to the Speakership, Carl Albert to the position of Majority Leader, and McCormack and Albert together picked as Whip and as the man they assumed would one day succeed them Hale Boggs of Louisiana. Whereupon Bolling seemed to renounce any leadership ambitions and turned instead to write two books denouncing the way things were done in the House. As his Rules Committee continued to be led by octogenarians, Bolling seemed to grow listless and apathetic; in 1970, he was accused of missing a key Rules vote when he refused to fly back from a Caribbean vacation to cast it (he denies the story).

That was probably the nadir of Bolling's congressional career; since then, he has shown a resurgence of interest—and power. When Carl Albert became Speaker in 1971, one of the members whose advice he came to rely on was Bolling's. On the Rules Committee, Bolling continues to languish in seniority behind 84-year-old Ray Madden of Indiana and 75-year-old James Delaney of New York, but he does manage sometimes to rescue order out of chaos.

Bolling's major effort in recent years, committee reform, turned out to be less than 100% successful, but it still has made some difference in the way the House works. Bolling chaired a special committee set up to reform the committee structure, which came out with a report that destroyed the power bases of too many people to pass. Such diverse congressmen opposed it as Phillip Burton of California (because it would split Education and Labor into two committees), Leonor Sullivan of Missouri (because it would have abolished the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee she chairs), John Dingell of Michigan (because it would have abolished his conservation subcommittee and would generally have weakened pro-environment forces), and Richard Ichord of Missouri (because it would have abolished Internal Security, which he then chaired). The Bolling Commission plan's fate was sealed when organized labor opposed it (they didn't want anyone messing with the liberal-packed Education and Labor), and another panel headed by retiring Julia Butler Hansen of Washington watered down its recommendations. Nevertheless, Bolling is at least partially responsible for the creation of the House Budget Committee, and for a reorganization of some chaotic subcommittee jurisdictions.

Interestingly, Bolling, who has been criticizing the House from what most people would regard as left-liberal is something of a cold warrior in foreign policy; in contrast Burton, who played a major role in beating down the Bolling Committee reforms, is a longtime dove. It seems unlikely now that Bolling will ever become Speaker, but a couple of timely retirements—or a decision by the Democratic Caucus that enough shenanigans are enough—will make him Rules Chairman. He has got to the age when men in business and the bureaucracy are at the peak of their powers; and it seems for once that the House is going to allow one of its most talented members to play a major role in what should be his most productive years—rather than wait, as so often happens, till the man is 75 and well past his prime.

Bolling has only token opposition in the November general election.

Census Data Pop. 467,457. Central city, 93%; suburban, 7%. Median family income, \$9,727; families above \$15,000: 20%; families below \$3,000: 9%. Median years education, 12.2.

Voting Record / Gant

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 10-11 or 18); No. 62 (p 6 or 12); No. 55 (p 4 or 11); and No. 47 (pp 3-4 or 12).

Voting Record / Skelton

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 10-11 or 18); No. 62 (p 6 or 12); and No. 55 (p 4 or 11).

Voting Record / Manford

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 10-11 or 18); No. 62 (p 6 or 12); No. 55 (p 4 or 11); and No. 47 (pp 3-4 or 12).

Voting Record / Johnson

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 6-11 or 12-17) and No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	80,553	(53%)
	McGovern (D)	71,527	(47%)
1968	Nixon (R)	57,971	(37%)
	Humphrey (D)	83,098	(52%)
	Wallace (AI)	17,562	(11%)

Group Ratings / Bolling

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	79	96	73	63
1974	84	100	100	0
1973	65	89	95	9
1972	75	90	86	17
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	92	67	63	
1973	90	69	64	
1972	90	73	66	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	82	22	57	
1973	100	—	—	
1972	100	0	44	

Key Votes / Bolling

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	ABS
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Bolling

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 53%. Blue collar, 32%. Service, 15%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 24%. Spanish, 3%. Total foreign stock, 9%. Germany, Italy, 1% each.



Rep. Richard Bolling (D) Elected 1948; b. May 17, 1916, New York, N.Y.; home, Kansas City; U. of the South, B.A. 1937, M.A. 1939, Vanderbilt U., 1939-40; Episcopalian.

Career Army, WWII; Teacher and coach, Sewanee Military Acad.; Vets. Advisor and Dir. of Student Activities, U. of Kansas City.

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Committees

Rules (3rd).

Joint Economic Committee (2d, House Side). Subcommittees: Consumer Economics; Fiscal Policy (Chairman); Urban Affairs.

Election Results

1974 general:	Richard Bolling (D)	57,081	(70%)	(\$20,590)
	John J. McDonough (R)	24,699	(30%)	(\$9,247)
1974 primary:	Richard Bolling (D)	35,444	(83%)	
	Stella Sollars (D)	7,399	(17%)	
1972 general:	Richard Bolling (D)	93,812	(64%)	(\$25,054)
	Vernon E. Rice (R)	53,257	(36%)	(\$442)
1976 primary:	John (Jim) Shockey (D)	19,076	(28.3%)	
	Richard Bolling (D)	48,354	(71.7%)	
	John McDonough (R)	6,211	(49.3%)	
	Joanne M. Collins (R)	6,393	(50.7%)	
	Jamie W. Kelso (I)			
	Wm. F. "Bill" Moore (I)			

Sixth District

Northwest Missouri is mostly farmland, gentle hill country rolling down to the Missouri River and its tributaries. In many ways this is a place left behind by the twentieth century. The mechanization of the family farm has thinned out the population here, as young people seek better livings elsewhere. All the counties of northwest Missouri, except those in the Kansas City metropolitan area, had more people at the turn of the century than they do today. Perhaps the most melancholy story belongs to St. Joseph, once one of the leading ports of entry to the American West: it was here that Pony Express riders saddled up for the transcontinental sprint to Sacramento. As late as 1900, St. Joseph was still a solid commercial competitor of Kansas City, with a population of 102,000, compared to Kansas City's 163,000. Today metropolitan Kansas City has more than a million people, while St. Joseph's population has dwindled to 72,000 and is growing still smaller.

The 3th congressional district covers almost precisely the northwest corner of Missouri: the land north and east of the Missouri River, west of a line drawn north and south through the middle of the state. Though most of the expanse of the 6th is given over to agriculture, as it was at the turn of the century, most of its residents now live in metropolitan areas. Some are in St. Joseph, but by far the bulk of this population is in Clay and Platte Counties in metropolitan Kansas City. To give itself space to grow, Kansas City has systematically been annexing land in these two counties in the last fifteen years; much of it has been bulldozed for subdivisions or to accommodate Kansas City's giant new airport. The Census Bureau considers most of Clay and Platte Counties part of the central city, and technically they are; but their character, by any measure, is suburban.

For 18 years the 6th district was represented in the House by W. R. Hull, the kind of conservative Democrat rural Missourians have traditionally found congenial. But in his last few elections, Hull's margins started to slip, and he decided to retire in 1972. That left the Republicans with a good chance to win the district: they might well have carried the metro Kansas City counties, and the rural counties and St. Joseph had been trending Republican heavily in recent elections. Nevertheless, most of the action remained in the Democratic primary, a contest between suburban Kansas City state Representative Charles Broomfield and Livingston County farmer Jerry Litton. Litton won that with 36% of the vote, and the general proved almost anticlimactic: Litton won with a solid 55% as Republicans never really mounted a serious campaign.

In his first term, Litton won the kind of publicity any freshman from such a district would crave. With a seat on the Agriculture Committee, and as a founder of a so far not very active Rural Caucus, Litton was able to portray himself as a vigorous battler for the family farm. More than that, he got into a fight with the Agriculture Department over whether the government should have access to farmers' tax returns.

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Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	134,977	(67%)
	McGovern (D)	65,754	(33%)
1968	Nixon (R)	96,811	(49%)
	Humphrey (D)	82,503	(41%)
	Wallace (AI)	20,275	(10%)

Group Ratings / Litton

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	68	95	91	36
1974	52	63	92	29
1973	54	73	95	32

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	55	43	47
1973	50	43	33

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	64	67	40
1973	57	-	-

Key Votes / Litton

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	ABS
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	ABS
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

When it came time for the 1974 election, Litton was not only unbeatable, he might as well have been unopposed. He won fully 79% of the vote, far more than his considerably more conservative predecessor had ever taken. He seemed to be headed for a lifetime career in the House but ran instead for the Senate, opening his seat to a contest among 7 Democrats, 1 Republican and 1 Independent. Morgan Maxfield won the Democratic nomination, decisively beating former Litton aide, Pat Danner, former State Representative Charles S. Broomfield, State Representative Vern King, and 3 other candidates. Broomfield had lost narrowly to Litton in the 1972 primary. Presently a member of the Clay County Democratic Committee, Maxfield, 35-years-old, is a political newcomer. A self-made millionaire from Texas and protégé of Lamar Hunt (owner of the Kansas City Chiefs football team), Maxfield ran an expensive media-oriented campaign with a patriotic theme. Maxfield is in serious trouble when his campaign manager resigned and accused him of misleading the electorate in regard to his marital status. He now faces Republican E. Thomas Coleman, former Missouri assistant attorney general, and Independent Raymond W. Thompson.

Census Data Pop. 469,642. Central city, 30%; suburban, 22%. Median family income, \$8,507; families above \$15,000: 14%; families below \$3,000: 12%. Median years education, 12.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 45.

Employment profile White collar, 43%. Blue collar, 35%. Service, 12%. Farm, 10%.

Ethnic groups Black, 1%. Total foreign stock, 5%. Germany, 1%.



Rep. Jerry Litton (D) Elected 1972; b. May 12, 1937, near Lock Springs; home, Chillicothe; U. of Mo., B.S. 1961; Protestant.

Career Rancher; Farm dir., The Columbia Missourian and KCHI Radio, 1955, KBIA Radio, 1960; Pres., Performance Registry Internatl., 1964.

Offices 1005 LHOB, 202-225-7041. Also Royal Inn, Rm. 102, 11828 Plaza Circle, Kansas City 64153, 816-243-5977.

Committees

Agriculture (13th). Subcommittees: Family Farms and Rural Development; Forests (Chairman); Livestock and Grains.

District of Columbia (12th). Subcommittees: Commerce, Housing and Transportation; Education, Labor and Social Services; Government Operations.

Election Results

1974 general:	Jerry Litton (D)	101,609	(79%)	(\$52,896)
	Grover H. Speers (R)	27,147	(21%)	(\$745)
1974 primary:	Jerry Litton (D), unopposed			
1972 general:	Jerry Litton (D)	110,047	(55%)	(\$188,642)
	Russell Sloan (R)	91,610	(45%)	(\$100,059)
1976 primary:	Sandra Finley (D).....	870	(0.8%)	
	H. N. Sutherland (D).....	2,103	(2.0%)	
	Morgan Maxfield (D).....	46,506	(43.9%)	
	Mrs. Pat Danner (D).....	24,790	(23.4%)	
	Charles S. Broomfield (D).....	21,083	(19.9%)	
	Vern King (D).....	8,694	(8.2%)	
	Bill Davis (D).....	1,834	(1.7%)	
	E. Thomas Coleman (R).....	17,380		
	Raymond W. Thompson (I).....			

Seventh District

Mention the Ozarks and you evoke an image of rural poverty: people with quaint accents living in hillside shacks, cut off from the currents of twentieth century America—a kind of Dogpatch. But for the Ozark Mountains of southwest Missouri, an area roughly coincident with the state's 7th congressional district, the Dogpatch image is far from accurate, and getting rapidly less so each year. Here you can find sizable and reasonably prosperous cities, like Springfield (pop. 120,000), the state's third largest, and Joplin (39,000). Outside the cities, there has been transformation of the landscape in recent years, as people from St. Louis or Kansas City build vacation homes or even year round residences in the pleasant green hills, with their relatively temperate climate, and along the large, often man-made lakes.

In many mountain areas—eastern Tennessee and central Kentucky spring to mind—political preferences have undergone little change in over a century; and this—despite the recent growth—has been the case in Missouri's Ozarks too. The people here did not share the slaveholding habits or the Confederate sympathies of many central Missourians, and during the Civil War period they became staunch Republicans, and have stayed that way. The Republican inclination has been strengthened by two factors: first, a distaste for the social programs pushed by the Democrats of the 1960s, and, second, the urban bred conservatism of many of the area's recent arrivals. (One thing many of them like about the Ozarks is that there are virtually no blacks here.) In the close statewide elections of 1968, 1970, and 1972, every county in the 7th district went for the Republican candidates; in the 1974 Eagleton landslide, this was the only district that the Democratic Senator failed to carry.

Voting Record / Litton

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); and No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35).

Voting Record / Broomfield

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18) and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Voting Record / King

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 6-11 or 12-17) and No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	153,239	(73%)
	McGovern (D) ...	57,616	(27%)
1968	Nixon (R)	112,012	(58%)
	Humphrey (D)	62,783	(32%)
	Wallace (AI)	19,718	(10%)

Group Ratings / Taylor

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	0	5	30	89
1974	5	0	36	79
1973	5	18	37	87
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	17	27	29	
1973	9	50	12	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	0	90	100	
1973	17	-	-	

Key Votes / Taylor

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Aborn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	ABS
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Taylor

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67
(pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); and No. 62
(p 26, 32 or 30, 35).

The 7th is also the only Missouri district to send a Republican to Congress. For 12 years, until his retirement in 1972, its Congressman was Dr. Durward G. Hall, who, often working in tandem with H.R. Gross of Iowa, was one of the sternest congressional watchdogs of the federal treasury. Like most conservatives, Hall was more generous with the military, in his case as a member of the Armed Services Committee.

With Hall retiring in what was shaping up as a big Republican year, the GOP nomination here was obviously going to be tantamount to election. The winner, by a 50-45 margin, was Sarcocie auto dealer and Republican National Committeeman Gene Taylor; the loser, John Ashcroft, was appointed by Governor Bond to succeed himself as state Auditor and narrowly lost election to that post in 1974. Naturally, Taylor won the 1972 general election with ease. But in just two years he was facing trouble in the unlikely person of Richard Franks, a 31-year-old Springfield Democrat and former judge. Franks ran a fairly strong campaign and held Taylor to a surprisingly low 53% of the vote; a better financed effort might have changed the result entirely. Taylor, who has not yet developed a style to match Doc Hall's, still holds what must be classed as a safe seat—but not as safe as people thought a couple of years ago.

Census Data Pop. 466,699. Central city, 26%; suburban, 7%. Median family income, \$6,832; families above \$15,000: 9%; families below \$3,000: 18%. Median years education, 11.7.

The Voters

Median voting age 47.

Employment profile White collar, 41%. Blue collar, 39%. Service, 13%. Farm, 7%.

Ethnic groups Total foreign stock, 3%.



Rep. Gene Taylor (R) Elected 1972; b. Feb. 10, 1928, near Sarcocie; home, Sarcocie; S.W. Mo. St. Col.; Methodist.

Career Public school teacher; Pres., Gene Taylor Ford Sales, Inc.; Mayor of Sarcocie, 1954-60.

Offices 1114 LHOB, 202-225-6536. Also 314A Wilhoit Bldg., Springfield 65806, 417-862-4317.

Committees

Post Office and Civil Service (6th). Subcommittees: Manpower and Civil Service; Retirement and Employee Benefits.

Public Works and Transportation (10th). Subcommittees: Aviation; Economic Development; Water Resources.

Election Results

1974 general:	Gene Taylor (R)	79,787	(52%)	(\$96,782)
	Richard L. Franks (D)	72,653	(48%)	(\$94,173)
1974 primary:	Gene Taylor (R)	40,997	(76%)	
	Alex Karmarkovic (R)	12,612	(24%)	
1972 general:	Gene Taylor (R)	132,780	(64%)	(\$97,127)
	William Thomas (D)	75,613	(36%)	(\$10,864)
1976 primary:	Gene Taylor (R)	59,825		
	Dolan G. Hawkins (D)	30,370		

Eighth District

After five redistrictings in less than fifteen years, the 8th congressional district of Missouri has at last got a fairly regular shape. Before the 1972 redistricting, we described it as a slingshot; today, it is a rather solid-based chocolate rooster. The comb includes Columbia, the district's largest city and the home of the University of Missouri; at just about where the ears would be if chickens had ears is Jefferson City, the sleepy little state capital; the tail feathers lie in the western end of suburban St. Louis County; and the feet or leg base is solidly in the Ozarks. These are areas of diverse political tendencies. Columbia, with a Dixie Democratic tradition, now is more liberal than ever with the 18-year-old vote. The St. Louis County suburbs are staunchly Republican. Probably the most interesting parts of the district are Jefferson City and the counties to the east, which have been strongly Republican since they were settled by antislavery German '48ers in the mid-nineteenth century. Though the Ozark counties are Republican, most of the rural counties in the 8th are traditional Missouri Democratic; the most notable features south of Jefferson City are Fort Leonard Wood, long one of the Army's centers for basic training, and the Lake of the Ozarks nearby.

Missouri legislatures and courts have five times redrawn the boundaries of this district, but elections here, at least since 1960, have always had precisely the same result: the election of Democratic Congressman Richard Ichord. For the most part Ichord's record is conservative, and he is entirely comfortable in his position as fifth ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee; he is seldom any less hawkish—occasionally more—than the committee's bipartisan majority or most of the military witnesses whose requests it respectfully hears, and almost always grants.

But Ichord is less likely to go down in history as a member of Armed Services than he is as the last Chairman of the House Internal Security Committee (HISC), formerly known as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). The Committee was long an anomaly. During its

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	124,585	(68%)
	McGovern (D)	58,036	(32%)
1968	Nixon (R)	88,961	(54%)
	Humphrey (D)	59,344	(36%)
	Wallace (AI)	17,822	(11%)

thirty years as a standing committee, it seldom reported out legislation; the only bill it ever really passed, the McCarran Act was for the most part ruled unconstitutional by the courts. Instead, HUAC specialized in hearings in which it would expose alleged Communists and subversives, not so much to reveal their leanings (which almost invariably were well known), but rather to cause them to lose their jobs and otherwise be injured for conduct the Committee deemed un-American, whatever that means.

The Committee can claim to have made the political career of at least one President, Richard Nixon, who first gained fame on HUAC as the interrogator of Alger Hiss, and of two politicians who had to leave office because of their criminal conduct, onetime Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (who met some of his old witnesses in prison) and of course Nixon himself. HUAC's clout in the House was maintained up through the 1960s by Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, who chaired not only the Committee but the Judiciary subcommittee which passed on private immigration bills; members who wanted to please their constituents by legalizing the importation of alien relatives (i.e., any big city Representative) needed to stay on Walter's good side, which is why there were only a handful of votes to abolish HUAC when California's James Roosevelt and the late William Fitts Ryan of New York raised the issue on the floor in the late fifties and early sixties.

For a long time, the abolish HUAC movement had only glacial success, getting up to around 40 supporters by the end of the 1960s. But public interest in the Committee's work was waning, and after Walter's death in 1963 it never had a Chairman with much influence in the House. Indeed, from that time on, the Chairmanship seemed to be a kind of jinx. Clyde Doyle of California, who succeeded Walter, died a few months later; and Joe Pool of Texas, who succeeded him, succumbed within a couple of years. Edwin Willis of Louisiana, the next Chairman, was unexpectedly beaten in his 1968 primary, and that left the chair to Richard Ichord.

Ichord claimed he wanted to tone down the circus atmosphere of so many of the Committee's past hearings, and he branched out to investigate the Ku Klux Klan as well as leftist organizations. But Ichord and his fellows still managed to convince themselves that the campus disorders of the late 1960s were organized by a national conspiracy; and they were still willing, despite a court order requiring them not to, to circulate a list of alleged subversives who spoke at various universities.

Such shenanigans didn't sit well with the new freshman Democrats elected to the House in 1974, and it is possible that HISC (the name change was another Ichord innovation) might have been abolished by majority vote on the floor. But instead it was killed in another way. California's Phillip Burton, the new Chairman of the Democratic Caucus, privately went about and got all the Committee's Democrats to resign except Ichord—Claude Pepper of Florida, Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, Father Robert Drinan of Massachusetts (who sought a seat on HISC solely and expressly to seek its abolition), and Mendel Davis of South Carolina. The only new Democrat who wanted to join was Larry McDonald, the Birch Society member from Georgia, but as a non lawyer he was ineligible under House rules. With virtually no Democratic members left on HISC, the Steering Committee just left it off the list of committee memberships to be approved—and it quietly died.

Interestingly, back in 1962, Richard Nixon had called on his gubernatorial opponent, Pat Brown, to renounce support from an Assemblyman named Phillip Burton because Burton favored abolition of HUAC (Brown declined). 1974 turned out to be a good year for Brown (whose son was elected Governor) and Burton (who achieved his long-sought objective), and a disastrous one for Nixon and the Committee which had done so much for him.

Ichord has only token opposition from Republican Charles Leick, 63 years old. His younger opponent, Stuart Leiderman, is running as an Independent and is aiming towards organizing his Ozark constituents for more serious challenge against Ichord in 1978, along the themes of conservation of natural resources, unspoiled wilderness, and family farmsteads.

Census Data Pop. 467,532. Central city, 13%; suburban, 24%. Median family income, \$7,743; families above \$15,000: 14%; families below \$3,000: 15%. Median years education, 11.2.

The Voters

Median voting age 40.

Employment profile White collar, 46%. Blue collar, 37%. Service, 12%. Farm, 5%.

Ethnic groups Black, 3%. Total foreign stock, 5%. Germany, 2%.



Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D) Elected 1960; b. June 27, 1926, Licking; home, Houston; U. of Mo., B.S. 1949, J.D. 1952; Baptist.

Career Navy, WWII; Practicing atty.; Mo. House of Reps., 1952-60, Spkr. Pro-Tempore, 1957-58, Spkr., 1959-60.

Offices 2402 RHOB, 202-225-5155. Also P.O. Box 298, Jefferson City 65101, 314-634-3510.

Committees

Armed Services (5th). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities (Chairman); Research and Development.

Election Results

1974 general:	Richard H. Ichord (D)	86,595	(70%)	(\$50,156)
	James A. Noland, Jr. (R)	37,369	(30%)	(\$195)
1974 primary:	Richard H. Ichord (D)	36,055	(84%)	
	Sam C. Orr (D)	6,614	(16%)	
1972 general:	Richard H. Ichord (D)	112,556	(62%)	(\$33,779)
	David R. Countie (R)	68,580	(38%)	(\$9,309)
1976 primary:	Richard (Dick) Ichord (D)	72,584		
	Charles R. Leick (R)	29,591		
	Stuart M. Leiderman (I)	Unopposed		

Group Ratings / Ichord

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	0	33	33	85
1974	9	33	42	69
1973	8	45	70	79
1972	19	73	83	71

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	9	7	13
1973	27	36	2
1972	44	46	11

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	25	83	100
1973	50	—	—
1972	50	63	100

Key Votes / Ichord

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	ABS
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	ABS
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Ichord

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	129,159	(65%)
	McGovern (D)	69,218	(35%)
1968	Nixon (R)	81,840	(45%)
	Humphrey (D)	75,883	(42%)
	Wallace (AI)	23,189	(13%)

Voting Record / Volkmer

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 6-11 or 12-17); No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Voting Record / Walsh

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18) and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Voting Record / Frappier

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 10-11 or 18); No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Voting Record / Welch

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issue: No. 71 (pp 6-11 or 12-17).

Ninth District

The part of rural Missouri which most faithfully sustains a Southern Democratic tradition is not in the southern part of the state; rather, it is the Little Dixie region, north of the Missouri River and across the Mississippi from Illinois. The land here was settled early in the nineteenth century, mainly by migrants from Kentucky and Tennessee. During the Civil War some citizens of Little Dixie fought on the Confederate side, and at least one county declared itself independent of the unionist state of Missouri. Since then, not much urbanization has come to this part of Missouri—so little that Mark Twain would probably still recognize his native Hannibal, one of Little Dixie's largest towns, were it not for the tourist traps that use Twain himself for bait. Nor have voting habits changed much; this part of the state continues to be more Democratic than Missouri as a whole, and even George McGovern was able to carry a county here.

Little Dixie was once a congressional district unto itself. Now, because of the one-person-one-vote decision, the region has just a bare majority of the residents of Missouri's 9th congressional district. The rest of the 9th is the northern reaches of the St. Louis metropolitan area: fast-growing, conservative-trending St. Charles County and a northern chunk of St. Louis County, which is predominantly blue-collar Democratic.

For some 40 years until his death in 1964 Clarence Cannon, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee for more than two decades, was the Congressman from the 9th district. Cannon had been Parliamentarian of the House before he had been elected Congressman; he knew the arcane House rules as well as anyone, and indeed wrote the standard compilation of them. He was a crusty, fiercely independent conservative Democrat, who often refused to appropriate money for—and thereby killed—pet programs of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. During the Chairman's last year, he and his Senate counterpart, the late Carl Hayden, got into a monumental battle over which side of the Capitol a House-Senate conference committee meeting should take place. For several months there was a stalemate in this battle of octogenarians—and no federal budget.

Cannon's successor in the 9th district seat, William Hungate, is a Democrat who votes with his northern-accented colleagues on most issues. He has shown his integrity by resigning from a District of Columbia subcommittee when he felt the full committee chairman, John McMillan, was allowing it to be influenced by special interests; and he has shown his mastery of complex legal matters when as Chairman of a Judiciary subcommittee he presided over consideration of new federal court rules.

But Hungate is undoubtedly best known to the American public for his sense of humor. With his pronounced Missouri accent and his memory for hoary stories, Hungate was able to provide a number of humorous sidelights during the impeachment hearings. Fully a year before, he had recorded a ditty called "Down by the Old Watergate," which he could be heard singing by dialing a Democratic National Committee number. During the hearings itself, he was prone to make comments like—a propos of Nixon defenders' refusal to concede obvious inferences from the testimony—"There are some members here who, if an elephant walked into the room, might say, 'Wait. It might be a mouse with a glandular condition.'" Apparently some of Hungate's comments irritated some viewers, and he apologized for them as he announced he would vote for impeachment; but most, if not all, of them seem in retrospect to have been quite appropriate.

Hungate is one of those Congressmen who thinks he votes more liberal than many of his constituents might like, but the fact is that he has seldom had any difficulty winning reelection. The only time he had major trouble was in 1968, when Republican Christopher Bond, later state Auditor and now Governor, held him to 52% of the vote. More recently Hungate has won by solid 2-1 margins; apparently little Dixie did not have as high a regard for Richard Nixon as did some parts of the Deep South.

Hungate, however, became more frustrated with the atmosphere in Washington and decided not to seek reelection. His popularity was still such that he was begged by many to accept appointment to the Senate candidacy left vacant by Jerry Litton's accidental death on Aug 3rd. But Hungate remained firm in his decision to retire to his law practice in Missouri. When Hungate declined to seek reelection, a wide-open contest developed in the 9th district.

Harold Volkmer won the hotly contested Democratic primary against ten opponents, by winning a landslide in the rural counties to offset lack of support in St. Louis and St. Charles Counties, where all his opponents lived. Joseph Frappier, the Republican primary winner, is strongest in the St. Louis and St. Charles County portion of the 9th District, which constitutes his present State Senate District. Both men are 45 years old and both are running as conservatives. Volkmer is a lawyer; Frappier, a Laclede Gas executive.

Census Data Pop. 467,990. Central city, 0%; suburban, 49%. Median family income, \$9,573; families above \$15,000: 18%; families below \$3,000: 11%. Median years education, 12.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 43.

Employment profile White collar, 45%. Blue collar, 36%. Service, 11%. Farm, 8%.

Ethnic groups Black, 3%. Total foreign stock, 5%. Germany, 2%.

Election Results

1974 general:	William L. Hungate (D)	87,546	(66%)	(\$30,091)
	Milton Bischof, Jr. (R)	44,318	(34%)	(\$13,369)
1974 primary:	William L. Hungate (D), unopposed			
1972 general:	William L. Hungate (D)	132,150	(67%)	(\$26,147)
	Robert L. Prange (R)	66,528	(33%)	(\$7,719)

1976 primary:	Thomas A. Walsh (D).....	12,172	(11.9%)
	Connie Cook (D).....	3,031	(3.0%)
	Ken Maurer (D).....	5,936	(5.8%)
	Harold L. Volkmer (D).....	35,153	(34.3%)
	Gene Weathers (D).....	3,395	(3.3%)
	Jerry F. Welch (D).....	14,182	(13.8%)
	Jean Berg (D).....	8,757	(8.5%)
	Joseph P. Afshari (D).....	18,190	(17.7%)
	John W. "Willie" Williamson (D).....	572	(0.6%)
	Thomas Rodney "T.R." Willsie (D).....	284	(0.3%)
	R. E. Laramie (D).....	840	(0.8%)
	David Doctorian (R).....	7,904	(33.1%)
	Joe F'rappier (R).....	16,006	(66.9%)

Tenth District

The 10th congressional district of Missouri is roughly congruent with the southeast corner of the state known as the Bootheel. This part of the country was first settled by Southerners coming up the Mississippi, looking for more fertile, moist, level land for growing cotton; they found it here, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and since then the Bootheel has had more of a feel of the Deep South to it than any other part of Missouri. One gauge of this is the 19% of the vote won by George Wallace in the 10th district in 1968—a far better showing than the Alabamian made in any other Missouri congressional district.

Upon the retirement of the incumbent, Democrat Bill Burlison was elected Congressman from the 10th district in 1968; he was formerly prosecutor in Cape Girardeau, the district's largest urban concentration (pop. 31,000). Compiling a middle of the road voting record, Burlison has kept the low profile traditionally expected of junior House members. His committee choices have obviously been made with an eye to district matters. In 1973, he switched from Agriculture and Interior—two committees one might expect a junior Congressman from a rural, farming district to seek—to Appropriations, where his major subcommittee assignment is Agriculture.

Burlison is a good example of the kind of Congressman who pays close attention to his district and builds up a personal following far beyond the customary strength of his party—and one which is not especially affected by local sentiment toward his party's national leadership. Though Republicans have made a number of concerted attempts to beat him, Burlison continues to raise his margin each time out, winning with a huge 73% of the vote in 1974. He is now so well entrenched that former Governor Warren Hearnes, a Bootheel native, was reportedly deterred from running against him when, in 1972, he was prohibited from running for a third term; and that same year, in the general election, George McGovern's weak showing here affected Burlison's performance not at all.

Census Data Pop. 466,731. Central city, 0%; suburban, 23%. Median family income, \$7,048; families above \$15,000: 9%; families below \$3,000: 20%. Median years education, 9.4.

The Voters

Median voting age 45.

Employment profile White collar, 36%. Blue collar, 44%. Service, 13%. Farm, 7%.

Ethnic groups Black, 5%. Total foreign stock, 2%.



Rep. Bill D. Burlison (D) Elected 1968; b. Mar. 15, 1935, Wardell; home, Cape Girardeau; S.E. Mo. St. Col., B.A. 1953, B.S. 1959, U. of Mo., LL.B. 1956, M.Ed. 1964; Baptist.

Career USMC, 1956–59; Practicing atty.; Business Law Instructor, S.E. Mo. St. Col.; Asst. Atty. Gen. of Mo., 1959–62; Cape Girardeau Co. Prosecuting Atty., 1962–68; Pres., Cape Girardeau Co. Bd. of Educ., 1966.

Offices 1338 LHOB, 202-225-4404. Also 246 New Fed. Bldg., Cape Girardeau 63701, 314-335-0101.

Committees

Appropriations (29th). Subcommittees: Agriculture and Related Agencies; Defense; District of Columbia.

Election Results

1974 general:	Bill D. Burlison (D)	77,677	(73%)	(\$28,021)
	Truman Farrow (R)	29,050	(27%)	(\$2,063)
1974 primary:	Bill D. Burlison (D)	44,801	(80%)	
	Arthur T. Stephenson (D)	11,175	(20%)	
1972 general:	Bill D. Burlison (D)	106,301	(64%)	(\$14,730)
	M. Francis Svendrowski (R)	59,083	(36%)	(\$3,065)
1976 primary:	Richard Dick Flotron (D).....	12,862	(13.9%)	
	W. F. (Pat) McKee (D).....	15,318	(16.5%)	
	Bill D. Burlison (D).....	64,381	(69.6%)	
	Joe Carron (R).....	12,191	(75.8%)	
	M. Francis (Frank) Svendrowski (R).....	3,896	(24.2%)	

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	111,777	(66%)
	McGovern (D)	57,754	(34%)
1968	Nixon (R)	71,624	(42%)
	Humphrey (D)	66,638	(39%)
	Wallace (AI)	32,365	(19%)

Group Ratings / Burlison

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	53	78	73	43
1974	45	73	77	40
1973	58	91	100	38
1972	44	73	86	48
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	42	38	41	
1973	50	33	50	
1972	55	40	27	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	62	73	22	
1973	100	—	—	
1972	50	18	60	

Key Votes / Burlison

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	ABS
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	ABS
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Burlison

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

ILLINOIS

As any reader of license plate slogans knows, Illinois is the "Land of Lincoln." More to the point, Illinois is also a land of tough, patronage-minded politicians, the home of Richard J. Daley's Democratic machine and the equally fearsome apparatus of the state's conservative Republicans. Not that this is the image one obtains from the roster of top statewide officeholders. Both parties have traditionally slated blue-ribbon candidates for the top slots, giving the nation such leaders as Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas in 1858 and, more recently, Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas in 1958 and the state's current Senators, Republican Charles Percy and Democrat Adlai Stevenson III.

Such men are above any suspicion of dishonesty. But they are in that respect scarcely typical of Illinois politicians, or at least the public's view of them. Among most pols here, patronage is a way of life, and between elections the leaders of both parties can live together quite comfortably, sharing the spoils. Outright thievery exists, too: in the 1950s a Republican state Auditor stole \$150,000, and in 1970 the Democratic Secretary of State died leaving \$800,000 cash in shoeboxes in his dingy Springfield hotel room. The most widespread corruption exists probably in Chicago and Cook County. In the last few years, aggressive Republican prosecutors have won convictions against such major figures in the Daley machine as County Clerk Edward Barrett and City Council President Thomas Keane, and former Governor and Federal judge Otto Kerner. State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, indicted for obstruction of justice in connection with the death of two Black Panther leaders, was acquitted but defeated by the voters in 1972, and his political career is over. (See Sixth District) Forty indictments for vote fraud in the March 1972 primary and intensive poll-watching have just about eliminated what Republicans claim was a pattern of massive vote fraud, especially in the West Side Chicago wards. But even Mayor Daley has been called on for explanations: he has admitted, for example, that he channeled hundreds of thousands of dollars insurance contracts to a firm that employs one of his sons.

In short, Mayor Daley's machine—the last major patronage-oriented, old-fashioned ward-based political organization in the country—is in bad shape. Daley himself, to be sure, was renominated for an unprecedented sixth term as Mayor in early 1975, but that victory shows the weakness, not the strength, of the machine. Daley, after all, has the reputation of being one of the few Mayors who can actually make a city work, who can get big labor and big business to make peace, and can control the city budget and the city tax rate. And if Chicago's city services are not as good as that view suggests, they are at least the equal of those in large cities under supposedly more enlightened management. Certainly Alderman William Singer, the young maverick Alderman who was Daley's main competitor, could not claim similar expertise. Yet with all these advantages, the 73-year-old Daley received only 58% of the vote. It was a solid 2-1 win over Singer, but scarcely the kind of unanimous endorsement he must have wanted: more than four out of ten Chicago Democrats voted for someone else.

So it should not be so surprising, at least now in retrospect, that Daley's choice for Governor was beaten in the 1972 Democratic primary. There were a number of ironies here. The machine choice was then Lieutenant Governor Paul Simon, who had built his career as an authentic Downstate reformer; his strong backing from organized labor and favorable name recognition virtually forced the machine to endorse him. (See Twenty-fourth District) And Walker, though an out-and-out rebel who had written the report charging a "police riot" at the 1968 Democratic convention, was not the kind of programmatic liberal so many of his articulate supporters assumed. Once he got the nomination, the main theme of this former West Pointer and six-figure executive at Montgomery Ward was that the state budget must be cut. He attacked Republican incumbent Richard Ogilvie for supporting a new state income tax, and became a kind of populist folk figure. He made only a mediocre showing in Chicago and its suburbs (outer Cook County and five surrounding counties), but actually carried usually Republican Downstate Illinois for a 51-49 statewide victory.

In office Walker has been engaged in a series of feuds with both parties in the legislature as well as with Mayor Daley. His adversaries consider him a grandstander, a man who poses as an economizer while fattening his own payroll with political appointees. He, apparently, considers himself a kind of tribune of the people, seeking to end the arrangements that have made it so comfortable to be a politician or a bureaucrat in Illinois, and not barred from using a wily politician's device to accomplish these ends.

By this year Walker had lost the support of the reform-minded Independent Voters of Illinois. His clear desire to set up a statewide Democratic organization separate from Daley's induced Daley to urge Secretary of State Michael J. Howlett, 61, of Chicago to enter the gubernatorial race. Unlike most Cook County Democratic regulars, Howlett was considered strong downstate. An easy winner three times for statewide office, he had visibility and thousands of political contacts from his position in Springfield.

In early February a Chicago newspaper reported that Howlett had been receiving \$15,000 per year in consulting fees from a Chicago steel company throughout his years in statewide office. Howlett denied any wrongdoing, but press coverage focused on Howlett's support for bills in the legislature that benefited the company that was paying him.

Howlett evaded Walker's requests for a debate, and talked mostly in general terms about the need for a governor who can work with the legislature and who prefers agreement to argument.

The steel company issue did not prevent Howlett from winning the primary, which he did thanks to a 200,000 vote margin in Chicago, while losing virtually every county outside the Chicago area. Since the primary Howlett has campaigned very little outside Cook County, although he is outspending his Republican opponent, James Thompson.

Thompson has become a familiar name in Chicago headlines during the past four years for his crime-busting efforts in the U.S. attorney's office. It was Thompson who was summoned to Washington in 1973 to help with the Spiro Agnew prosecution, emerging from a courtroom to tell reporters, "the man is a crook, no question about it." Closer to home, Thompson has

1974 Share of Federal Tax Burden

\$17,113,397,000;
6.39% of U.S. total, 3rd largest.

1974 Share of Federal Outlays

\$12,094,107,000;
4.48% of U.S. total, 5th largest.
Per capita federal spending, \$1088.

DOD	\$1,360,544,000	16th (1.99%)
AEC	\$169,849,000	6th (5.57%)
NASA	\$7,551,000	20th (0.25%)
DOT	\$308,118,000	6th (3.64%)
DOC	\$17,375,000	16th (1.08%)
DOI	\$25,947,000	23d (1.05%)
USDA	\$560,191,000	4th (4.50%)

HEW	\$4,934,489,000	4th (5.32%)
HUD	\$71,255,000	2d (7.31%)
VA	\$590,557,000	7th (4.32%)
EPA	\$114,903,000	6th (3.65%)
RevS	\$310,504,000	4th (5.11%)
Int.	\$676,427,000	4th (3.29%)
Other	\$2,946,397,000	

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	2,788,179	(59%)
	McGovern (D)	1,913,472	(41%)
1968	Nixon (R)	2,174,774	(47%)
	Humphrey (D)	2,039,814	(44%)
	Wallace (AI)	390,958	(8%)

1972 Democratic Presidential Primary

Muskie	766,914	(63%)
McCarthy	444,260	(36%)
others	13,970	(1%)

1972 Republican Presidential Primary

Nixon	32,550	(97%)
others	1,019	(3%)

1976 Democratic Presidential Primary

Carter	630,915	(48%)
Wallace	361,798	(28%)
Harris	98,862	(7.5%)
Shriver	214,024	(16%)
Write-in	6,315	(0.5%)

1976 Republican Presidential Primary

Ford	456,750	(59%)
Reagan	311,295	(40%)
Others	7,582	(1%)

Political Line-up Governor, Dan Walker (D). Senators, Charles H. Percy (R) and Adlai E. Stevenson (D). Representatives, 24 (12 D, 11 R, and 1 vac.). State Senate (33 D and 26 R); State House (101 D, 75 R and 1 vac.).

The Voters

Registration: 5,905,633 Total. No Party Registration.

Median voting age: 43.

Employment profile: White collar, 49%. Blue collar, 37%. Service, 12%. Farm, 2%.

Ethnic groups: Black, 13%. Spanish, 3%. Total foreign stock, 20%. Germany, Poland, 3% each; Italy, 2%; UK, 1%.

prosecuted numerous members of Daley's Cook County organization, including Alderman Thomas Keane, the mayor's long-time floor leader in the Chicago city council. In many ways, Thompson is as much of a threat to the organization as Walker was. A poll in mid-September for the *Chicago Tribune* showed Thompson a few points ahead of Howlett even in Chicago.

Whoever wins will get only a short two-year term as a reward. Illinois is moving its elections for state offices to non-presidential years.

Governor and Mayor have always been the positions most Illinois pols care about; that's where the patronage and all the big contracts are. The two Senate seats are held, usually, by the blue-ribbon candidates both parties like to put up to attract independent voters. For more than 15 years they were held by Paul Douglas and Everett Dirksen, an odd couple if there ever was one, and as example of how the same state can continually reelect entirely different Senators. Douglas was an economics professor idealist, a liberal who battled against the filibuster and the oil depletion allowance in the days when the Senate, led by Lyndon Johnson, overwhelming supported them; he had the pleasure of seeing both seriously injured, if not killed, in 1975. Dirksen, the Senate Minority Leader when he died in 1969, was a natural deal-maker, a man who could shift stands on issues like civil rights adroitly enough to be hailed for statesmanship, a man who loved to orate floridly about the virtues of the marigold, but whose tiny Downstate law office at the same time was collecting fat fees from many of the nation's leading corporations.

Illinois' current Senators are more in the Douglas than the Dirksen mold: liberal on the issues, more pragmatic than the old professor but still not the leading movers and shakers in the Senate. Charles Percy was, in fact, a student of Douglas's at the University of Chicago before World War II. He rose quickly: president of Bell and Howell at 30, head of the Republican platform committee at 41, Senator at 47. With his blond hair and unwrinkled face, Percy is still described as young by some journalists, though he is nearing 60; he is still regarded by some as a sort of liberal Republican boy wonder, though he has not yet done what everyone has expected him to do for years—run for President. He was planning the groundwork for a serious, grueling campaign when Gerald Ford's accession to the Presidency seemed to sew up the Republican nomination for 1976.

Percy's views, generally, are probably closer to those of most liberal Democratic Senators than to Republicans like the late Everett Dirksen. But all that can be overstated; though he was often an adversary of the Nixon Administration, he attempted in 1975 to come to the rescue of the Ford Administration's Cambodia policy by fashioning a compromise in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. What is not in doubt about Percy is his ability to win general elections in Illinois. Running for a second term in 1972 he won with 62% of the vote—significantly ahead of Richard Nixon. He had no difficulty capturing the traditional Republican vote, took a stunning 70% in the Chicago suburbs—which now cast 275,000 more votes than the city itself—and ran about even with his Democratic opponent in the South Side black ghetto.

Percy's percentage, a record, was topped in 1974 by his Democratic colleague, Adlai Stevenson III, when he won his first full term by a 63-37 margin. Stevenson had captured the seat four years before, after it was held for a matter of months by a conservative Republican appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Dirksen's death. Stevenson had been the target of a Nixon-Agnew brand law 'n' order campaign, complete with charges that the Democrat consorted with the likes of Yippie Jerry Rubin; Stevenson retaliated by hiring the prosecutor of the Chicago Seven as his campaign manager, wearing a flag pin in his lapel, and winning 58% of the vote. In 1974, several well-known Republicans, including Attorney General Scott and House Republican Conference Chairman John Anderson declined to run against him (actually they had to make their decisions in 1973, since Illinois's filing date is in December, the earliest in the nation.) With token opposition from an unknown and unfinanced Republican, Stevenson swept the state, winning 58% of the vote Downstate and 53% in the suburbs—to go with his 81-19 margin in the city of Chicago.

Stevenson is a quiet Senator who nonetheless takes strong positions on matters like ending military aid to Vietnam; he worked hard on issues like congressional and campaign reform. His speaking style, at first very hesitant, has improved during his political career, but he still lacks the homespun polish his father had. On the Banking and Commerce Committees, he is considered a reliable voice for consumer points of view, but not a major shaper of legislation.

In presidential elections, Illinois is one of our bellwether states; it has supported every winning candidate since Warren G. Harding in 1920. But the Illinois presidential primary has never been decisive in choosing either party's nominee. One reason is the early filing date, which scares off a lot of candidates, who want more time to make up their minds; another reason is the fact that the party machines have traditionally had the strength to elect the delegates they select. The preferential poll is just a beauty contest, imposing no obligation on delegates to support any candidate; in 1972, it was the scene of Edmund Muskie's only really solid victory, but no one much cared.

In 1976 Jimmy Carter won over 48% of the preferential primary votes, leaving the other candidates (Wallace, Shriver, and Harris) far behind. Again, the Daley machine won a majority of the Democratic delegates: 85 out of 155. These 85 were nominally pledged to favorite son Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III. Carter challenged only 93 slots, and won 53. The remaining 31 delegates were pledged to other candidates or uncommitted. It was significant for Carter that in most areas where his delegates challenged Stevenson delegates, Carters' won.

The Republican primary was a landslide for President Ford, who won almost 59% of the preferential votes and 71 of the 96 delegates. This was his fifth win, and the third time that Ford defeated Reagan in a state where both campaigned.

Census Data Pop. 11,113,976; 5.49% of U.S. total, 5th largest; Central city, 37%; suburban, 43%. Median family income, \$10,957; 7th highest; families above \$15,000: 26%; families below \$3,000: 8%. Median years education, 12.1.

Economic Base Finance, insurance and real estate; machinery, especially construction and related machinery; electrical equipment and supplies, especially communication equipment; fabricated metal products; agriculture, notably corn, soybeans, hogs and cattle; food and kindred products; printing and publishing, especially commercial printing; primary metal industries, especially blast furnaces and basic steel products.

SENATORS



Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) Elected 1966, seat up 1978; b. Sept. 27, 1919, Pensacola, Fla.; home, Wilmette; U. of Chi., B.A. 1941; Christian Scientist.

Career Corp. Exec., Bell & Howell, Co., Pres. and Chf. Exec. Officer, 1949-61, Bd. Chm., 1961-66; Navy, WWII; Rep. of Pres. Eisenhower to pres. inaugurations in Peru and Bolivia, 1956; Repub. nominee for Gov., 1964.

Offices 1200 DSOB, 202-224-2152. Also 219 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1860, Chicago 60604, 312-353-4952, and Old P.O. Bldg., Rm. 117, Springfield 62701, 217-525-4442.

Committees

Government Operations (Ranking Member). Subcommittees: Oversight Procedures; Reports, Accounting and Management; Permanent Subcommittees on Investigations.

Foreign Relations (5th). Subcommittees: Far Eastern Affairs; Multinational Corporations; Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Joint Economic Committee (2d, Senate Side). Subcommittees: Consumer Economics; Economic Growth; International Economics; Priorities and Economy in Government; Urban Affairs.

Election Results

1972 general:	Charles H. Percy (R)	2,867,078	(62%)	(\$1,408,822)
	Roman Pucinski (D)	1,721,031	(38%)	(\$335,482)
1972 primary:	Charles H. Percy (R), unopposed			
1966 general:	Charles H. Percy (R)	2,100,449	(56%)	
	Paul H. Douglas (D)	1,678,147	(44%)	

Voting Record / Percy

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67
(pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (pp
26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Group Ratings / Percy

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	56	86	67	23
1974	82	78	69	19
1973	67	75	69	17
1972	60	88	89	41

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	100	100	93
1973	100	100	—
1972	100	100	57

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	55	33	44
1973	58	—	—
1972	100	55	44

Key Votes / Percy

1) No-Knock	AGN
2) Busing	ABS
3) No Fault	FOR
4) F-111	FOR
5) Death Penalty	AGN
6) Foreign Aid	FOR
7) Filibuster	AGN
8) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR
9) Cut Mil Brass	FOR
10) Gov Limousine	FOR
11) RR Featherbed	FOR
12) Handgun License	FOR
13) Less Troop Abrd	AGN
14) Resume Turk Aid	AGN
15) Consumer Prot Agy	FOR
16) Forced Psych Tests	ABS
17) Fed Campaign Subs	FOR
18) Rhod Chrome Ban	FOR
19) Open Legis Meetings	FOR
20) Strikers Food Stmps	ABS
21) Gov Info Disclosure	FOR

Group Ratings / Stevenson

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	72	82	100	0
1974	100	73	94	11
1973	89	82	100	7
1972	80	89	100	10

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	100	57	79
1973	100	65	—
1972	100	80	96

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	100	33	0
1973	85	—	—
1972	100	27	20

Key Votes / Stevenson

1) No-Knock	AGN
2) Busing	FOR
3) No Fault	FOR
4) F-111	AGN
5) Death Penalty	AGN
6) Foreign Aid	FOR
7) Filibuster	AGN
8) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR
9) Cut Mil Brass	FOR
10) Gov Limousine	AGN
11) RR Featherbed	FOR
12) Handgun License	FOR
13) Less Troop Abrd	FOR
14) Resume Turk Aid	AGN
15) Consumer Prot Agy	FOR
16) Forced Psych Tests	FOR
17) Fed Campaign Subs	AGN
18) Rhod Chrome Ban	FOR
19) Open Legis Meetings	FOR
20) Strikers Food Stmps	FOR
21) Gov Info Disclosure	FOR



Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D) Elected 1970, seat up 1980; b. Oct. 10, 1930, Chicago; home, Chicago; Harvard U., A.B. 1952, LL.B. 1957; Unitarian.

Career USMC, Korea; Clerk to Ill. State Supreme Ct. Justice, 1957-58; Practicing atty.; Ill. House of Reps., 1965-67; State Treasurer of Ill., 1967-70.

Offices 456 RSOB, 202-224-2854. Also 230 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 60604, 312-353-5420, and Fed. Bldg., Rm. 108, 600 E. Monroe St., Springfield 62691, 217-525-4126.

Committees

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (6th). Subcommittees: Financial Institutions; International Finance (Chairman); Oversight; Production and Stabilization.

Commerce (11th). Subcommittees: Aviation; The Consumer; Environment; Foreign Commerce and Tourism; Surface Transportation; Special Subcommittee on Science, Technology, and Commerce; Special Subcommittee to Study Transportation on the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway; Special Subcommittee on Oil and Gas Production and Distribution (Chairman).

The District of Columbia (3d).

Election Results

1974 general:	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	1,811,496	(63%)	(\$757,329)
	George M. Burditt (R)	1,084,884	(37%)	(\$488,556)
1974 primary:	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	822,248	(83%)	
	W. Dakin Williams (D)	169,662	(17%)	
1970 general:	Adlai E. Stevenson III (D)	2,065,054	(58%)	
	Ralph Tyler Smith (R)	1,519,718	(42%)	

Voting Record / Stevenson

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67
(pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26,
32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Census Data Pop. 461,054. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$15,173; families above \$15,000: 51%; families below \$3,000: 2%. Median years education, 12.7.

The Voters

Median voting age 39.

Employment profile White collar, 67%. Blue collar, 25%. Service, 8%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 20%. Germany, 4%; Italy, Poland, 2% each; Canada, UK, Sweden, USSR, 1% each.



Rep. Philip M. Crane (R) Elected Nov. 25, 1969; b. Nov. 3, 1930, Chicago; home, Mt. Prospect; De Paul U., Hillside Col., B.A., Ind. U., M.A., Ph.D., U. of Mich., U. of Vienna.

Career Instructor, Ind. U., 1960-63; Asst. Prof., Bradley U., 1963-67; Dir. of Schools, Westminster Acad., 1967-68.

Offices 1406 LHOB, 202-225-3711. Also Suite 101, 1450 S. New Wilke Rd., Arlington Heights 60005, 312-394-0790.

Committees

Ways and Means (8th). Subcommittees: Health; Social Security.

Election Results

1974 general:	Philip M. Crane (R)	70,731	(61%)	(\$60,122)
	Betty C. Spence (D)	45,049	(39%)	(\$51,594)
1974 primary:	Philip M. Crane (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	Philip M. Crane (R)	152,938	(74%)	(\$52,661)
	E. L. Frank (D)	53,055	(26%)	(\$4,154)
1976 primary:	Philip M. Crane (R)	36,242		
	Edwin L. Frank (D)	25,221		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	136,343	(71%)
	McGovern (D)	56,896	(29%)
1968	Nixon (R)	104,981	(65%)
	Humphrey (D)	48,572	(30%)
	Wallace (AI)	8,142	(5%)

Group Ratings / Crane

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	0	5	10	100
1974	10	0	0	92
1973	9	9	5	100
1972	0	18	14	100
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	0	31	14	
1973	9	42	6	
1972	20	38	5	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	0	82	100	
1973	0	-	-	
1972	0	100	100	

Key Votes / Crane

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	ABS
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Crane

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Thirteenth District

The 13th congressional district of Illinois is a part of the Chicago metropolitan area far beyond the power of Mayor Daley's machine, but well within reach of the Chicago *Tribune*. The district forms a kind of cordon around the northern and western portions of the metropolitan area, as it stretches from the industrial town of Waukegan on Lake Michigan to a point below the German Catholic town of Aurora, due west of the Chicago Loop. This area is not quite as prosperous as the suburbs closer to Chicago; it contains pockets of urban poverty and rural shabbiness, as well as some working-class neighborhoods and middle-income towns. The suburban building boom invaded the district's cornfields with real force in the late sixties, but the growth here has not yet been as explosive—or disruptive—as in the neighboring 12th district.

In 1964, the 13th (then numbered the 12th) was among the group of Chicago suburbs and exurbs that went for Barry Goldwater. Extending around the city at a radius from 20 to 60 miles, they coincided roughly with the *Tribune's* major circulation zone; these same suburbs went for Barry Goldwater in 1964, though similar suburbs of other Great Lakes metropolises—Detroit, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Buffalo—all went for Johnson. It may seem odd to make this connection between voting behavior and newspaper circulation, but only to those unfamiliar with the old *Tribune*. The paper today, while conservative editorially, is evenhanded in its choice of columnists and is usually reliable, even authoritative. But in the heyday of its founder, Colonel Robert McCormick, and for a decade or so afterward, the *Tribune* was the voice of Midwestern Republican conservatism and isolationism—a voice undisturbed by any discordant notes. Its news pages were as slanted as its editorials were opinionated, and it was taken as gospel by hundreds of thousands of suburban Chicago readers, as well as many more in the rural hinterland for miles around. The hard-nosed conservatism of the old *Tribune* still finds expression in Illinois politics and voter behavior today, and nowhere more than in the suburban belt around Chicago.

The 13th district's Congressman's tenure dates from 1962, when the *Tribune* was about to become more moderate, and the Congressman is noticeably more middle-of-the-road than the Republicans who represented Illinois when he was first elected. This is Robert McClory, familiar to most Americans from his role in the House Judiciary Committee impeachment proceedings. McClory was the second ranking Republican on the Committee—he lost the top spot by a flip of a coin a dozen years before, which gave Edward Hutchinson of Michigan greater seniority. A thin, nervous-seeming man, he was constantly commenting on the evidence, often with disapproval; he finally came out for impeaching Nixon for abuse of power, but not for his complicity in the cover-up, for which he felt the evidence was lacking. McClory was 66 at the time, but his political

Metcalfe watched benignly as the Rev. Jesse Jackson led a massive ticket-splitting campaign, and the Congressman pointedly refused to endorse Hanrahan—a break with machine discipline which would have been unthinkable two years before. It was the first time the South Side had split its ticket to any appreciable extent—and there was more ticket-splitting here that year than anywhere else in Illinois.

But that was only the beginning of Metcalfe's rebellion. When Daley himself came up for renomination in 1975, Metcalfe endorsed rebel Alderman William Singer. One may gauge Daley's reaction by remembering that machine judges had for two years been trying to have Singer put in jail for having defied a court order and successfully challenged Daley and his machine delegates at the 1972 Democratic national convention. Jackson, Metcalfe's only rival as an independent black political leader in Chicago, endorsed a black candidate, who won less than 10% of the total vote; as between the two, it was clearly a victory for the Congressman.

When the mayor's slatemakers met in December to pick their congressional candidates, Metcalfe was not on the slate. Erwin A. France, 37, former director of the Chicago Model Cities program, had been chosen to take his place.

The situation made life uncomfortable for many South Side blacks who are personally close to Metcalfe but reluctant to buck the machine. The dentist whose beating inspired Metcalfe's initial outrage three years ago said he would vote for France. Precinct committeemen loyal to Metcalfe for a generation reluctantly came out against him. But Metcalfe lined up support from the Illinois AFL-CIO, normally close to Daley, and from the Congressional Black Caucus and the Illinois Federation of Teachers. His overwhelming victory made observers wonder what all the fuss had been about.

About the only bar to Metcalfe's continued influence in Chicago politics is his age. He is past 65 now, and though a machine man like Dawson could maintain power when his health was gone, it is harder to do that as an insurgent. The fact that 42% of Chicago Democrats voted against Daley in 1975 indicates that the machine's days are numbered. Not too far in the future there will be a massive battle for control of the city government, and Congressman Ralph Metcalfe and the newly independent voters of the South Side will likely play a major role in determining the outcome.

Census Data Pop. 462,434. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$8,373; families above \$15,000: 17%; families below \$3,000: 14%. Median years education, 11.5.

The Voters

Median voting age 42.

Employment profile White collar, 46%. Blue collar, 35%. Service, 19%. Farm, —%.

Ethnic groups Black, 89%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 5%.



Rep. Ralph H. Metcalfe (D) Elected 1970; b. May 30, 1910, Atlanta Ga.; home, Chicago; Marquette U., Ph. B, 1936, U. of So. Cal., M. A. 1939; Catholic.

Career Coach and Instructor, Xavier U., 1936–42; Army, WWII; Dir. of Civil Rights for Chi. Comm. on Human Relations, 1945; Ill. St. Athletic Commissioner, 1949–52; Chi. City Cncl., 1955–70.

Offices 322CHOB, 202-225-4372. Also 454 E. 79th St., Chicago 60604, 312-651-4200.

Committees

Interstate and Foreign Commerce (16th). Subcommittees: Consumer Protection and Finance; Transportation and Commerce.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries (12th). Subcommittees: Merchant Marine; Panama Canal (Chairman).

Election Results

1974 general:	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D)	75,206	(94%)	(\$37,900)
	Oscar H. Haynes (R)	4,399	(6%)	(\$833)
1974 primary:	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D), unopposed			
1972 general:	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D)	136,755	(91%)	(\$9,861)
	Louis H. Cogg's (R)	12,877	(9%)	(\$1,235)
1976 primary:	Ralph H. Metcalfe (D).....	56,101		
	Erwin A. France (D).....	22,028		
	A. A. Rayner, Jr. (R).....	2,133		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	16,998	(10%)
	McGovern (D)	145,003	(90%)
1968	Nixon (R)	16,308	(9%)
	Humphrey (D)	168,445	(90%)
	Wallace (AI)	3,249	(2%)

Group Ratings / Metcalfe

	ADA	COPE	NIU	ACA
1975	84	90	100	4
1974	95	90	100	0
1973	95	100	100	5
1972	31	100	86	7
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	92	50	88	
1973	80	80	69	
1972	90	60	52	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	92	20	14	
1973	88	—	—	
1972	—	10	0	

Key Votes / Metcalfe

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Aborn Aid	FOR
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	ABS
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	ABS
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Metcalfe

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Second District

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	60,220	(34%)
	McGovern (D)	116,534	(66%)
1968	Nixon (R)	66,747	(34%)
	Humphrey (D)	109,468	(56%)
	Wallace (AI)	20,658	(10%)

Group Ratings / Murphy

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	74	95	90	18
1974	50	91	77	31
1973	82	100	100	4
1972	63	90	86	22
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	55	50	53	
1973	92	67	74	
1972	80	50	57	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	67	33	44	
1973	86	-	-	
1972	0	18	60	

Key Votes / Murphy

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Murphy

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

On the far South Side of Chicago, where the Calumet River has been deepened to accommodate the huge freighters of the Great Lakes, are the city's giant steel mills, ones that rival those of nearby Gary in size and stark grandeur. This part of Chicago is the heart of the city's heavy industry and has been since the Industrial Revolution first came to the Midwest. This same area was also the site of the Pullman strike of 1893, during which the laissez-faire President Cleveland sent in federal troops to uphold the rights of private capital. The Calumet steel mills neatly separate the 2d congressional district of Illinois into two distinct parts. To the east, along lakefront, are the large apartments and, behind them, comfortable houses in what used to be a predominantly Jewish neighborhood; to the north is the South Side black ghetto. West of the steel mills are middle-class neighborhoods, most of them inhabited by the members of various ethnic groups that have for so long contributed most of the labor that keeps the mills going.

Both parts of the 2d district have one thing in common: they have been the site of Chicago's—and probably the nation's—most rapid massive neighborhood racial change. In 1960, less than 20% of the residents of the current 2d district were black; in 1970, 40% were, and today blacks probably form a majority. Blockbusting techniques are a way of life here, and the first For Sale sign on a white block can still trigger a spasm of selling. Naturally, this change has affected the area's politics. Back in 1966 and 1968, Republican candidates, working on the fears of white voters, nearly captured the old 3d district, which included most of the territory now within the 2d. By 1970, however, enough blacks had moved in, and begun to vote, to push the Democratic percentage back up again. Thus McGovern won 66% of the vote in the same area where Humphrey could only take 56%.

The current Congressman from the 2d is Democrat Morgan Murphy, who won the old 3d district in 1970. Before his election, Murphy, son of the former head of Chicago's Commonwealth Edison, held a number of offices considered within the power of Mayor Daley's machine. As a machine loyalist, he beat a black candidate in the 1970 primary and then won the general election easily. In his first term in the House, Murphy attracted attention for exposing the wide extent of heroin addiction among American servicemen in Vietnam. In his second term, as a member of the Rules Committee, he worked more quietly; heeding the demands of building trades unionists, his vote helped to kill the federal land use bill in Rules.

The increasing black population in the 2d may represent a threat to Murphy's tenure, but so far he has only benefitted from the high Democratic percentages blacks help to produce. In 1974, he won 88% of the vote in the general election, and almost as much against a hapless primary opponent. In 1970, the machine was strong enough to win him half the black votes in the primary against a black candidate; whether this could happen again, if Murphy faced a creditable black challenger, is not clear.

Census Data Pop. 464,792. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$11,147; families above \$15,000: 26%; families below \$3,000: 7%. Median years education, 11.8.

The Voters

Median voting age 43.

Employment profile White collar, 48%. Blue collar, 39%. Service, 13%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 40%. Spanish, 5%. Total foreign stock, 25%. Poland, 4%; Italy, Ireland, Germany, 2% each; Yugoslavia, Sweden, 1% each.



Rep. Morgan F. Murphy (D) Elected 1970; b. Apr. 16, 1932, Chicago; home, Chicago; Northwestern U., B.S. 1955, De Paul U., J.D. 1962; Catholic.

Career USMC, 1955-58; Admin. Asst. to Circuit Court Clerk, 1958-61; Practicing atty., 1962-70; Chm., Govt. Div., Crusade of Mercy, 1967-70.

Offices 137 CHOB, 202-225-3406. Also 1640 Dirksen Bldg., 219 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 60604, 312-353-5390

Committees

Rules (8th).

Election Results

1974 general:	Morgan F. Murphy (D)	65,812	(88%)	(\$12,299)
	James J. Ginderske (R)	9,386	(12%)	(\$350)
1974 primary:	Morgan F. Murphy (D)	34,906	(79%)	
	Perry H. Hutchinson (D)	9,263	(21%)	
1972 general:	Morgan F. Murphy (D)	115,306	(75%)	(\$21,510)
	James E. Doyle (R)	38,391	(25%)	(\$3,044)
1976 primary:	Morgan F. Murphy (D)	43,528		
	Andrew Tucker (D)	12,487		
	Spencer Leak (R)	5,922		

Third District

The 3d congressional district of Illinois, created by the state Supreme Court's redistricting plan in 1972, consists of the close-in southwest suburbs of the city plus about two wards' worth of Chicago itself. If one had to generalize about the area, one might say that this is the place where the whites from the older, ethnic neighborhoods of South Side Chicago have gone, either in flight as blacks move into their neighborhoods, or simply as they grow up and have to move some place to start their own families. There are small black ghettos here in the towns of Markham and Harvey, but the overall ethnic tone is Irish-American, the group which always dominated the southwest Chicago wards until the blacks moved in. But not everyone is Irish; the area is an ethnic melting pot with Polish-, Italian-, Lithuanian-, German-, Dutch-, Swedish-, and Czech-Americans represented in significant numbers. The people here are much more likely to hold white-collar rather than blue-collar jobs, but one suspects the situation for their parents was just the reverse. So these are people whose hold on middle-class status is just a little precarious, their recent prosperity notwithstanding. Democrats are hoping that the economic issue will still count in 1976, as it apparently did in 1974.

The 3d district is one of those areas that are crucial to the outcome of Cook County elections which, contrary to outsiders' preconceptions, are not automatically won by Mayor Daley's Democrats. Indeed, the Chicago suburbs taken as a whole, are more conservative and Republican than those of any other major city but Los Angeles. In numerous recent years Republicans, with huge suburban pluralities, have been able to beat Daley Democrats in races for patronage-rich offices for County Board President and Sheriff in 1966, for example, and State's Attorney in 1972. One Republican who won such a race is Robert P. Hanrahan (no relation to former State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan), who was elected County Superintendent of Schools. Then a young 32, Hanrahan had a good Irish name and good future prospects. He was beaten for reelection in the Democratic year of 1970, but two years later he ran for and won the new 3d district seat created by the Republican majority on the Supreme Court.

From there on in, it probably should have been easy for Hanrahan to hold that office, what with all the advantages congressional incumbents have these days. But perhaps he found the position a little too comfortable, driving around Washington in his Cadillac and maintaining his main home office in the faraway Chicago Loop rather than in the district. At any rate, Hanrahan found himself in trouble as Senator Adlai Stevenson was carrying this district. To just about everyone's surprise, 30-year-old Democrat Martin Russo beat Hanrahan by a 53-47 margin. Russo is a graduate of DePaul Law School (Daley's alma mater) and was an Assistant State's Attorney under Edward Hanrahan; he may be counted as a machine loyalist. He is being criticized by his opponent for defending his regular-party colleague former Congressman Wayne Hays shortly after the Hays scandal was exposed.

Russo's Republican opponent in November will be Ronald Buikema, a 36-year-old South Holland lawyer. Buikema has been village attorney and prosecutor in South Holland and president of the South Suburban Bar Association. Apparently his regular party support, larger funds, and Dutch name and ancestry in a district with a significant Dutch population, helped him win over more experienced Carl L. Klein (the Ronald Reagan coordinator), over Thornton Township auditor Glen Allred, and over progressive Robert C. Gorman, who received the *Chicago Sun-Times* endorsement.

Census Data Pop. 461,180. Central city, 27%; suburban, 73%. Median family income, \$12,762; families above \$15,000: 34%; families below \$3,000: 4%. Median years education, 12.2.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 53%. Blue collar, 37%. Service, 10%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 5%. Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 28%. Poland, 4%; Ireland, Germany, Italy, 3% each; Lithuania, UK, 2% each; Netherlands, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, 1% each.



Rep. Martin A. Russo (D) Elected 1974; b. Jan. 23, 1944, Chicago; home, South Holland; De Paul U., B.S. 1965, J.D. 1967; Catholic.

Career Law Clerk for Ill. Appellate Ct. Judge John V. McCormack, 1967-68; Practicing atty.; Cook Co. Asst. States Atty., 1971-73.

Offices 128 CHOB, 202-225-5736. Also 468 Fed. Bldg., 219 S. Dearborn St. Chicago 60604, 213-353-8093.

Committees

Judiciary (23d). Subcommittees: Criminal Justice; Immigration, Citizenship and International Law.

Small Business (21st). Subcommittees: Activities of Regulatory Agencies; Energy and Environment.

Election Results

1974 general:	Martin A. Russo (D)	65,336	(53%)	(\$79,420)
	Robert P. Hanrahan (R)	58,891	(47%)	(\$40,912)
1974 primary:	Martin A. Russo (D), unopposed			
1976 primary:	Martin A. Russo (D)	53,219		
	Ronald Buikema (R)	14,692		
	Glen John Allred (R)	4,218		
	Robert C. Gorman (R)	3,005		
	Carl L. Klein (R)	2,840		
	Frank Collin (White Power)			

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	155,092	(70%)
	McGovern (D)	65,226	(30%)
1968	Nixon (R)	105,041	(52%)
	Humphrey (D)	69,085	(34%)
	Wallace (AI)	28,019	(14%)

Group Ratings / Russo

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	79	87	90	25

Key Votes / Russo

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	NE
3) ABM	NE
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	NE
6) Gov Abortn Aid	NE
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	NE
9) Pub Trans Sub	NE
10) EZ Voter Regis	NE
11) Pub Cong Election \$	NE
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	NE
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Russo

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issue: No. 71 (pp 22-23).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	142,635	(71%)
	McGovern (D)	57,082	(29%)
1968	Nixon (R)	104,716	(56%)
	Humphrey (D)	59,200	(32%)
	Wallace (AI)	22,737	(12%)

Group Ratings / Derwinski

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	0	26	18	79
1974	11	0	40	69
1973	13	9	16	100
1972	6	27	33	80
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	45	50	40	
1973	40	62	29	
1972	33	64	0	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	17	78	100	
1973	29	-	-	
1972	0	100	100	

Key Votes / Derwinski

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Derwinski

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Fourth District

The 4th congressional district of Illinois is the southwest corner of Cook County. The district includes the most Republican part of what is supposed to be one of the nation's prime Democratic counties. It really isn't, because the usually Republican suburbs now cast 43% of the County's total votes; as Chicago's population continues to fall, and the suburbs gain, that percentage is sure to rise even more in the next few elections. Chicago's suburbs radiate from the city like spokes on a wheel, and the 4th district contains two widely separated built-up areas, one of which extends almost due south of the city, the other directly west. Nevertheless, the 4th is an area of rather homogeneous political complexion. By most social and economic indicators, it resembles the neighboring 3d district; the 4th is a shade richer and a shade less ethnic. All of which surely means that the people here are sometimes just another generation removed from the ancestral immigrants who came to live in Chicago's slums.

The 4th is a very Republican district—one of about 65 of the current seats which went for Barry Goldwater in 1964. Its Congressman since 1958, Edward J. Derwinski, is a conservative proudly in the Goldwater mold. He is one of the last Congressmen on the Hill to retain a crew cut. Derwinski came to the House, back in 1958 when crew cuts were the style, as a very young man of 32. As a result of his seniority, he is now the ranking Republican on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. This is the body which set up the current federal-pay-raise legislation; it also passes on a seemingly endless number of questions about medical insurance and other fringe benefits. As a no-nonsense conservative, with few federal employees in his district, Derwinski can be expected to set himself against the 15-year trend of rapidly increasing federal salaries though not one suspects with much luck. Still only 50, Derwinski has the makings of an authentic congressional curmudgeon, perhaps along the lines of H. R. Gross of Iowa, whom he succeeded in the Post Office Committee slot.

His opponent is Ronald Rodger, a teacher and former aide to 3rd District Congressman Russo and to State Representative Leland Rayson. His awards include Outstanding Young Man of America in 1974. Educated as an economist and historian, he served as a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference in 1971. A liberal, Rodger is not close to the Democrat Party, and announced that he will vote for Thompson, the Republican candidate for governor.

Census Data Pop. 464,452. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$13,451; families above \$15,000: 39%; families below \$3,000: 3%. Median years education, 12.4.

The Voters

Median voting age 42.

Employment profile White collar, 56%. Blue collar, 35%. Service, 9%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 4%. Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 23%. Poland, Germany, Italy, 3% each; Czechoslovakia, 2%; UK, Ireland, Canada, 1% each.



Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R) Elected 1958; b. Sept. 15, 1926, Chicago; home, Flossmoor; Loyola U., B.S. 1951; Catholic.

Career Ill. House of Reps., 1957-58; Mbr., U.S. Delegation to U.N., 1971.

Offices 1401 LHOB, 202-225-3961. Also 9838 S. Roberts Rd., Palos Hills 60465, 312-598-6700.

Committees

International Relations (2d). Subcommittees: International Organizations; Oversight.

Post Office and Civil Service Ranking Member. Subcommittees: Manpower and Civil Service.

Election Results

1974 general:	Edward J. Derwinski (R)	68,428	(59%)	(\$41,646)
	Ronald A. Rodger (D)	47,096	(41%)	(\$18,301)
1974 primary:	Edward J. Derwinski (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	Edward J. Derwinski (R)	141,402	(71%)	(\$17,896)
	C. F. Dore (D)	59,057	(29%)	(\$11,342)
1976 primary:	Edward J. Derwinski (R)	24,132		
	Ronald A. Rodger (D)	31,433		

Fifth District

In an unpretentious but reportedly comfortable house on the 3500 block of South Lowe Avenue in the 11th ward and the 5th congressional district in Chicago lives the most powerful ward committeeman in the United States. He is a man whose advice has been routinely sought by Presidents and Senators and Governors. For more than 20 years he has held other important offices, like Chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee and Mayor of the City of Chicago. His name is Richard J. Daley, and no matter how he may be scorned or ridiculed or hated elsewhere, he is loved and admired in the 11th ward of Chicago.

Chicago is a city of neighborhoods, and Daley's neighborhood, Bridgeport, is typical both of the 11th ward and of the 5th district of which it is a part. More than 30% of the 5th's residents are black, but virtually all of them live at the fringes of the district, in the South Side or West Side ghettos; the heart of the 5th, neighborhoods like Bridgeport, are definitely all white. The people here live, as Daley has all his life, in these neighborhoods with the dumpy looking frame houses and the sparkling clean sidewalks. On a nice day a visitor driving down South Lowe can see dozens of children with crisp Irish faces, playing noisily but always taking care not to injure the closely-tended manicured lawns. Blacks moving out from the center of the city have not found neighborhoods like Bridgeport hospitable (to say the least), and have avoided them. This choice urban property, not far from the Loop, thus remains the province of the tightly-knit white communities which, it seems, have always lived here. If there is something insular and anachronistic about these neighborhoods and something intolerant, there is also a vitality and rootedness unknown in the shopping center land of suburban America.

Very early in life, children in Bridgeport are taught their basic loyalties: the United States of America, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Democratic Party. But on occasion even some of these loyalties have been called into doubt. In the sixties, the people here lined the streets to watch the busloads of delegates be shepherded into the amphitheater where the Democratic national convention was being conducted. They did not, apparently, like what they saw: the national party appeared to them too sympathetic to demonstrators who did not properly respect the flag, and to blacks who would not respect established traditions. Hubert Humphrey got only 61% of the votes in this traditionally Democratic area, and George McGovern a rock-bottom 53%.

But with the revelations of Watergate and the depression/recession, the voters of the 5th district have returned to the Democratic Party with a vengeance; Senator Adlai Stevenson, never a particular favorite here in the past, received 86% of the district's vote in 1974. A similar percentage was amassed, one can be sure without much personal campaigning, by 78-year-old Congressman John Kluczynski, known as Johnny Klu to distinguish him from his brother Thomas C. "Tommy Klu" Kluczynski, Associate Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court. Johnny Klu had first been elected to Congress in 1950 and had risen to the chairmanship of the Roads Subcommittee. There he was a staunch ally of the highway lobby and opposed any effort to use gas tax money for mass transit. His position shifted, however, when the Chicago Transit Authority ran into trouble and needed an injection of cash; the Mayor presumably got on the phone and told him to stop voting like a Downstater. So Kluczynski had to abandon his highway builder friends; at about the same time, the power of his chairmanship of the Select Committee on the House Restaurant evaporated when Wayne Hays of Ohio decided to take over all its functions. It was, as it turned out, an unhappy end to a long career, for Johnny Klu, fresh from his largest victory percentage ever, died in February 1975.

The machine quickly chose the next Congressman, state Representative John Fary; the people ratified the choice in a 1975 special election. There is no more prospect for political change here in the 5th district than there is a chance that Bridgeport will somehow be transformed into some other kind of community. This is a kind of politics—and way of life—that has been vanishing in America these last 30 years, but it is still very much alive in this part of Chicago.

Census Data Pop. 465,990. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$9,881; families above \$15,000: 20%; families below \$3,000: 10%. Median years education, 10.2.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 40%. Blue collar, 47%. Service, 13%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 31%. Spanish, 6%. Total foreign stock, 30%. Poland, 10%; Italy, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Germany, Ireland, 2% each; Yugoslavia, 1%.

Election Results

1976 primary: John G. Fary (D)..... 70,183
Vincent S. Krok..... 3,910

Sixth District

The 6th congressional district is yet another suburban Chicago constituency. These are not the new suburbs, with their gleaming but pasteboard houses stuck up on treeless lots one after another; it is, mostly, a series of older, established communities west and northwest of Chicago. Oak Park for one was the boyhood home of Ernest Hemingway; it is still a quiet middle-class community lying just across the city limits from part of the West Side Chicago ghetto. To the

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	86,644	(47%)
	McGovern (D)	96,012	(53%)
1968	Nixon (R)	55,992	(28%)
	Humphrey (D)	119,512	(61%)
	Wallace (AI)	21,366	(11%)

Group Ratings / Fary

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	45	100	67	0

Voting Record / Fary

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	147,633	(69%)
	McGovern (D)	66,815	(31%)
1968	Nixon (R)	119,634	(55%)
	Humphrey (D)	73,583	(34%)
	Wallace (AI)	23,249	(11%)

Group Ratings / Hyde

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	5	13	9	86

Key Votes / Hyde

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	NE
3) ABM	NE
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	NE
6) Gov Abortn Aid	NE
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	NE
9) Pub Trans Sub	NE
10) EZ Voter Regis	NE
11) Pub Cong Election S	NE
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	NE
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Hyde

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

south, the very different town of Cicero has scarcely changed either since the thirties, when it was a Syndicate stronghold and bedroom community for Czechs and other Eastern European factory workers. In the mid-sixties, Cicero made headlines and TV footage when its citizens forcibly resisted the efforts of Martin Luther King to integrate the city. Cicero's politics is dominated by an anachronism from the 1920's: a working class, ethnic-based Republican machine. In just about every respect, Cicero resembles Chicago neighborhoods like Bridgeport (see Illinois 5), but for some reason—perhaps just because it is a suburb and Bridgeport is part of the city—the partisan political patterns here are just the opposite.

On the map, the remainder of the 6th district looks like a patchwork quilt of towns whose names are various combinations of "Park", "River," and "Forest," sometimes appended to more distinctive names. But most of these communities can claim some special quality. Maywood, for example, has a large black community, and Melrose Park is predominantly Italian-American. (Indeed, this is the most Italian of all of Illinois's districts; in the East, Italians have tended to stay in the central cities, but here they have long since moved out to the suburbs.) Then there is Rosemont, a tiny place 20 years ago situated near a dusty airfield named after someone called O'Hare. Since that time, primarily through the efforts of Richard J. Daley, O'Hare has become the busiest airport in the world, and little Rosemont has sprouted a couple of dozen high-rise motels and office buildings. It is perhaps the premier example of the kind of businessman's meeting place culture which has grown up around our major airports

From 1956 to 1974, the 6th's Congressman was Harold R. Collier, a classically conservative Cook County Republican. Collier was one of those Congressmen who surprised many observers by retiring in 1974. He was just 59, had already reached the second ranking Republican position on Ways and Means, and seemed to have a safe district. Apparently he was just tired of the job and the increasing pressure—increasing as bodies like Ways and Means were coming under closer and closer scrutiny. Plus he might have been scared by his prospective opponent for 1974, former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan. Hanrahan was the man who had got into trouble by authorizing the raid that led to the death of two Black Panther leaders in 1971; he had been defeated in 1972 largely for that reason. But in that same election, he had done very well in the 6th; against a strong Republican candidate, he had about 48% of the vote.

At any rate, Collier retired, and most observers thought Hanrahan, a conservative Democrat in a conservative district and a Democratic year, had it locked. They reckoned without the hard work of Republican candidate Henry Hyde. Hyde was Majority Leader of the Illinois General Assembly, a conservative Republican and defender of the suburbs, and almost as well-known in the district as Hanrahan. Hanrahan's luck ran out, and Hyde won by a 53-47 margin. As one of the relatively few Republican freshmen, Hyde was able to get choice committee assignments on Banking and Currency and Judiciary; at 52, he is likely to be around for a long time provided he does not suddenly decide, as Collier did, to give it all up.

Democratic challenger Marilyn Clancy, a resident of Oak Park, was endorsed in the primary by the Independent Voters of Illinois. She was a delegate to the 1972 Democratic Convention, and studies and teaches at Loyola University.

Census Data Pop. 461,360. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$12,700; families above \$15,000: 35%; families below \$3,000: 4%. Median years education, 12.2.

The Voters

Median voting age 45.

Employment profile White collar, 55%. Blue collar, 36%. Service, 9%. Farm, -%.
Ethnic groups Black, 3%. Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 34%. Italy, 7%; Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, 4% each; Ireland, 2%; UK, Canada, Austria, 1% each.



Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R) Elected 1974; b. Apr. 18, 1924, Chicago; home, Park Ridge; Georgetown U., B.S. 1947, Loyola U., J.D. 1949.

Career Navy, WWII; Practicing atty., 1950-75; Ill. House of Reps., 1967-74, Maj. Ldr., 1971-72.

Offices 1206 LHOB, 202-225-4561. Also Rm. 220, Oak Park P.O. Bldg., 901 Lake St., Oak Park 60301, 312-383-6881.

Committees

Banking, Currency and Housing (11th). Subcommittees: Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; International Development Institutions and Finance; International Trade, Investment and Monetary Policy.
Judiciary (10th). Subcommittees: Criminal Justice.

Election Results

1974 general:	Henry J. Hyde (R)	66,027	(53%)	(\$175,087)
	Edward V. Hanrahan (D)	57,654	(47%)	(\$66,284)
1974 primary:	Henry J. Hyde (R)	15,192	(49%)	
	Roy C. Pechous (R)	7,484	(24%)	
	Four others (R)	8,526	(27%)	
1976 primary:	Henry J. Hyde (R)	26,460		
	Marilyn D. Clancy (D)	23,105		
	R. G. Patrick Logan (D)	12,390		

Seventh District

The Loop is what one thinks of when one thinks of Chicago. Here, where high-rise construction was pioneered, stand the city's giant skyscrapers, including the new Sears and Roebuck Building—the world's tallest. Chicago also means the Near North Side, with its huge, well-designed high-rise apartment buildings along Lake Michigan and, behind them, alternately smart and raunchy shopping streets. This is all part of Illinois's 7th congressional district—the glamorous part, the part best known to the outside world. But beyond the Chicago River and the miles of railroad track—Chicago is still the nation's biggest rail center—lies the grim West Side ghetto. As one goes inland from the lakefront, the territory is at first a potpourri: the nation's largest skid row on West Madison, followed by odd settlements of American Indians and Appalachians. Then comes the West Side ghetto, which casts the bulk of the votes here in the 7th district.

The West Side is machine country. The black community here is more newly-arrived, less middle-class, and less well-organized than the blacks on the South Side (see Illinois 1). Some wards that are virtually 100% black still elect Jewish or Italian ward committeemen—the last vestige of their onetime ethnic composition. When the South Side wards broke party lines in 1972 and voted for Republicans Charles Percy for Senate and Bernard Carey for State's Attorney, the West Side stayed true to the machine, casting huge Democratic majorities for all offices.

Of all of Chicago's 50 wards, the 24th on the far West Side usually turns in the highest Democratic percentages—96% for George McGovern in 1972, for example. (Interestingly, the all-black 24th ward sits right next to all-white, heavily Republican Cicero.) In 1970, George W. Collins, then 24th ward Alderman, became Chicago's second black Congressman. In December 1972, Collins was killed in an airplane crash that also took the life of Dorothy Hunt, of Watergate fame. Collins' successor in Congress is his widow, Cardiss Collins, who won a special election in

June 1973. Her margin was so large and her opposition so negligible (her Republican opponent was Lar Daly, who likes to show up on TV talk shows wearing an Uncle Sam suit) that it appears that machine control on the West Side is undisputed. In the House, Collins can be counted as a solid vote for the Daley machine.

Census Data Pop. 464,283. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$7,536; families above \$15,000: 13%; families below \$3,000: 16%. Median years education, 9.7.

The Voters

Median voting age 39.

Employment profile White collar, 35%. Blue collar, 49%. Service, 16%. Farm, —%.

Ethnic groups Black, 55%. Spanish, 17%. Total foreign stock, 22%. Poland, 4%; Italy, 2%; USSR, 1%.



Rep. Cardiss Collins (D) Elected June 5, 1973; b. Sept. 24, 1931, St. Louis, Mo.; home, Chicago; Northwestern U.; Baptist.

Career Stenographer, Ill. Dept. of Labor; Secy., accountant, and revenue auditor, Ill. Dept. of Revenue.

Offices 1123 LHOB, 202-225-5006. Also 219 S. Dearborn St., Suite 1632, Chicago 60604, 312-353-5754.

Committees

Government Operations (17th). Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs; Government Activities and Transportation.

International Relations (19th). Subcommittees: International Organizations; International Resources, Food, and Energy.

Election Results

1974 general:	Cardiss Collins (D)	63,962	(88%)	(\$7,292)
	Donald L. Metzger (R)	8,800	(12%)	(\$18,822)
1974 primary:	Cardiss Collins (D), unopposed			
1973 special:	Cardiss Collins (D)	33,875	(93%)	(NA)
	Angel Moreno (Ind.)	1,429	(4%)	(NA)
	Lar Daly (R)	1,311	(4%)	(NA)
1976 primary:	Cardiss Collins (D), unopposed.....	41,969		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	33,266	(26%)
	McGovern (D)	93,318	(74%)
1968	Nixon (R)	22,768	(15%)
	Humphrey (D)	126,222	(81%)
	Wallace (AI) ..	6,271	(4%)

Group Ratings / Collins

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	100	95	100	4
1974	89	90	77	7
1973	100	100	100	6
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	83	50	81	
1973	90	100	75	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	92	18	20	
1973	100	—	—	

Key Votes / Collins

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortion Aid	FOR
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Collins

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); and No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	71,343	(44%)
	McGovern (D)	90,093	(56%)
1968	Nixon (R)	65,086	(36%)
	Humphrey (D)	101,161	(55%)
	Wallace (AI)	16,056	(9%)

Group Ratings / Rostenkowski

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	58	100	90	9
1975	50	90	83	36
1973	68	100	94	16
1972	38	90	86	18
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	60	60	67	
1973	91	67	60	
1972	60	62	56	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	67	17	44	
1973	83	-	-	
1972	-	0	78	

Key Votes / Rostenkowski

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortion Aid	ABS
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	ABS

Voting Record / Rostenkowski

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Eighth District

The 8th district of Illinois is part of the North and Northwest sides of Chicago. This is middle- and lower-middle-class country in decline, with strip commercial developments and neighborhoods of one- and two-family houses which probably ought to have been painted last year. Most of the district is resolutely all white, though it does include portions of the West Side ghetto. The atmosphere here is still decidedly ethnic, and the 8th is the heart of Chicago's North Side Polish community. (Altogether, it has the fourth highest concentration of Polish-Americans of any district in the nation.) Its residents, less prosperous than their cousins in the adjoining 11th district, are closer to the old country ways and more dependent on their ward organizations. This is the kind of urban area which many young middle-Americans, in their rush to the curved-street subdivisions and shopping centers of suburbia, are leaving behind. But it is still an area of considerable import in Chicago, and it is one which has not abandoned its ancestral allegiance to the Democratic Party, even in the Republican years of 1966, 1968, and 1972.

Of all of the Chicago Congressmen who belong to the Daley bloc in Congress, the clear and undoubted leader is Dan Rostenkowski, Representative from the 8th district. For many years Rostenkowski was the youngest member of the city's delegation, and though he has served since 1958 he is still under 50. In recognition of his status, House Democrats awarded him a seat on the Ways and Means Committee and, in 1968, elected him Democratic Caucus Chairman.

But somehow Rostenkowski has never achieved the leadership role he was obviously meant to fill. In 1970, a surprise offensive by Olin "Tiger" Teague of Texas ousted him from the Caucus Chairman post. Ways and Means lost much of its traditional clout in 1973 when House Democrats forced the Rules Committee to report out some of its bills with an open rule—that is, allowing amendment on the floor. And now Rostenkowski looks very much like a man whom time has passed by. The Caucus Chairman post he was once so chagrined to lose now belongs to left liberal Phillip Burton of San Francisco. Wilbur Mills, whom Rostenkowski admired, has been ousted from the chairmanship of Ways and Means. And though Rostenkowski himself is now fourth in seniority on that still powerful committee, that is no guarantee of the chairmanship some day, in light of House Democrats' increasing proclivity to throw out committee chairmen. Indeed, after Burton's elevation and the defeat of several committee chairmen in 1975, Rostenkowski could not hide his anger; as a man who has always sought dutifully to climb the ladders prescribed by his leaders, he was dismayed to find that the newcomers could just push them down. He still may be an important man in the House some day—but the chances are not as certain as they were just a few years ago.

He faces token opposition from another member of the Polish community, John Urbaszewski, who is a teamster and businessman and is running for public office for the first time.

Census Data Pop. 459,902. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$9,867; families above \$15,000: 20%; families below \$3,000: 9%. Median years education, 10.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 42.

Employment profile White collar, 39%. Blue collar, 49%. Service, 12%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 18%. Spanish, 13%. Total foreign stock, 35%. Poland, 9%; Italy, 6%; Germany, 3%; Ireland, 2%; Greece, 1%.



Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D) Elected 1958; b. Jan. 2, 1928, Chicago; home, Chicago; Loyola U., 1948-51; Catholic.

Career Army, Korea; Ill. House of Reps., 1953-55; Ill. Senate, 1955-59.

Offices 2185 RHOB, 202-225-4061. Also 2148 N. Damen Ave., Chicago 60647, 312-276-6000.

Committees

Ways and Means (4th). Subcommittees: Health (Chairman); Trade.

Election Results

1974 general:	Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D)	75,011	(87%)	(\$25,720)
	Salvatore E. Oddo (R)	11,664	(13%)	(\$0)
1974 primary:	Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D), unopposed			
1972 general:	Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D)	110,457	(74%)	(\$13,737)
	Edward Stepnowski (R)	38,758	(26%)	(\$225)
1976 primary:	Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D)	52,725		
	John F. Urbaszewski (R)	2,640		
	Carl C. Lodico (R)	774		

Ninth District

Along Chicago's Lake Shore Drive, overlooking Lake Michigan, are some of the nation's architecturally most distinguished high-rise apartment buildings. They stand, one hard on the heels of the next; there are more such classically modern buildings here, probably, than anywhere in the country. This is the face the nation's second city likes to show to the world: affluent, elegant, massive. Behind the apartment towers, however, lies another Chicago—an incredibly varied, sometimes funky, sometimes posh city. There are Appalachians, Italians, Mexicans, American Indians and blacks—all just a few blocks from the row of high rises. At the northern end of the lakefront, where the big buildings peter out to those of ten or even five stories, is Chicago's largest Jewish community, just south of the suburbs of Evanston and Skokie. The lakefront, and the territory just a mile or two behind it, forms Illinois's 9th congressional district, which stretches from the Near North Side to the northern city limits.

So constituted, the 9th includes that part of the city which—along with the Hyde Park area around the University of Chicago—has voted most dependably against the Daley machine. William Singer, won half as many votes as Daley did in the 1975 Mayoral primary, used to be an Alderman from this area; it has also produced the longest-tenured independent member of the city's congressional delegation, Congressman Sidney Yates.

Yates has represented the Lake Shore area in Congress since 1948—when Richard Daley had not even been elected Cook County Clerk—with the exception of two years spent in forced retirement following an unsuccessful, but impressive, attempt to unseat Senator Everett Dirksen in 1962. Despite President Kennedy's obvious eagerness to butter up Dirksen, Yates won 47% of the vote. With his solid base of support in the liberal community in Chicago, Yates had little trouble winning back his seat in 1964. One can think of the machine's sufferance of his independence as a kind of concession to what is, in their view at least, just another ethnic group in the city: the issue-oriented liberals.

Yates serves on the Appropriations Committee. But because of his run for the Senate, his seniority dates only from 1964; thus he is only the 19th ranked Democrat, rather than the 5th, on the Committee. He is, however, Chairman of the Interior Subcommittee—a body, like Yates himself, basically in sympathy with the goal of preserving the environment. As one of the senior liberals on Appropriations, Yates has also been one of the leaders in the various movements to cut American military activity in and aid to the dictator countries in Southeast Asia. There is no question but that he will be reelected as long as he likes.

He faces token opposition from Thomas Wajerski, businessman and pilot.

Census Data Pop. 463,991. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$10,966; families above \$15,000: 29%; families below \$3,000: 8%. Median years education, 12.3.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 64%. Blue collar, 25%. Service, 11%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 5%. Spanish, 9%. Total foreign stock, 41%. USSR, 6%; Germany, 5%; Poland, 3%; Ireland, Sweden, Italy, UK, 2% each; Austria, Canada, Yugoslavia, Greece, 1% each.



Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D) Elected 1964; b. Aug. 27, 1909, Chicago; home, Chicago; U. of Chi., Ph.B. 1931, J.D. 1933; Jewish.

Career Practicing atty.; Asst. Atty. for Ill. St. Bank Receiver, 1935-37; Asst. Atty. Gen. attached to Ill. Commerce Comm., 1937-40; Navy, WWII; U.S. House of Reps., 1949-63; Dem. nominee for U.S. Senate, 1962.

Offices 2234 RHOB, 202-225-2111. Also 230 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 60604, 312-353-4596.

Committees

Appropriations (19th). Subcommittees: Interior (Chairman); Legislative; Transportation.

Election Results

1974 general:	Sidney R. Yates (D), unopposed		(\$11,226)
1974 primary:	Sidney R. Yates (D), unopposed		
1972 general:	Sidney R. Yates (D)	131,777 (68%)	(\$29,723)
	Clark W. Fetridge (R)	61,083 (32%)	(\$16,353)
1976 primary:	Sidney R. Yates (D)	65,816	
	Thomas Joseph Wajerski (R)	9,780	

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	79,997	(42%)
	McGovern (D)	111,512	(58%)
1968	Nixon (R)	79,631	(38%)
	Humphrey (D)	118,287	(57%)
	Wallace (AI)	10,547	(5%)

Group Ratings / Yates

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	100	96	82	11
1974	100	100	86	0
1973	96	100	75	12
1972	94	100	100	0
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	100	79	88	
1973	83	73	95	
1972	100	78	80	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	92	17	10	
1973	100	-	-	
1972	100	8	0	

Key Votes / Yates

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	FOR
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Yates

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Tenth District

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	147,305	(62%)
	McGovern (D)	89,630	(38%)
1968	Nixon (R)	123,878	(56%)
	Humphrey (D)	89,114	(41%)
	Wallace (AI)	6,786	(3%)

Group Ratings / Mikva

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	89	95	91	11

Key Votes / Mikva

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	NE
3) ABM	NE
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	NE
6) Gov Abortn Aid	NE
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	NE
9) Pub Trans Sub	NE
10) EZ Voter Regis	NE
11) Pub Cong Election \$	NI
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	NI
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Mikva

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23) and No.
55 (p 19 or 20).

The 10th district of Illinois is one of two new suburban Chicago congressional districts created by court order in 1971. The district is about as compact and contiguous as possible, and one of socio-economic homogeneity. Its sameness can be summed up in a single word: rich. According to the 1970 census, this was the second wealthiest congressional district in the United States, with a median family income over \$16,000 (and which, with inflation, would be up toward the \$25,000 level today). That figure was exceeded only in the 8th district of Maryland, a place where fast-rising federal salaries have inflated the income level. Incomes there depend in large part on taxes which the federal government will apply all its force, if necessary, to extract from its citizens: the people of the 10th district of Illinois, in contrast, tend to make their money producing goods and services other people pay for more or less voluntarily.

The 10th could easily be called the North Shore district. Its best known towns include Evanston, site of Northwestern University and for many years the home of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, along with Winnetka, Wilmette, and Glenco, whose New Trier Township High School likes to consider itself (and could in fact be) the best public high school in the country. These suburbs along Lake Michigan were settled long ago, pioneered by commuters using Chicago's efficient railroad lines. The large houses and shady streets of the North Shore towns have a comfortable, lived-in look, and not a trace of shabbiness. West of the Lakefront are newer communities: the predominantly Jewish suburb of Skokie, which grew rapidly in the fifties; and farther inland, places like Niles, Des Plaines, Glenview, and Northbrook, situated on the northwest rail lines and freeways, right in the way of the great suburban expansion of the 1960s.

Conventional wisdom has long had it that the richer people are, the more Republican they vote. The 10th district nicely refutes this proposition. Though it is the richest of the suburban Chicago districts, it is the only one which refused to go for Barry Goldwater in 1964. Even in 1972, the 10th gave Richard Nixon no larger a percentage than he won in the nation as a whole. And in 1974, the 10th gave Senator Adlai Stevenson 57% of the vote—a better showing than he made in any other all-suburban district. There are several explanations for this voting behavior. First, there is the large Jewish community, centered in Skokie, which usually goes solidly Democratic: about two-thirds of metropolitan Chicago's large Jewish community live either here or in the 9th district, just to the south, in the city. Second, Evanston, once one of the state's premier Republican strongholds, has now gone Democratic as students at Northwestern got the vote and academics and professionals who used to live in Hyde Park, around the University of Chicago, have moved here. Finally, there is the general quiet move leftward among high-income WASPs, which makes itself felt in smaller and smaller Republican margins in the fashionable North Shore precincts. These are voters who were turned off by the Vietnam war and by the Nixon-Agnew administration's appeals to the prejudices of hard hats and Southern segregationists; they are people whose opposition to Democrats was long rooted in their notion that that party was rotten with corruption, and now find themselves opposing many Republicans for the same reason.

When created in 1971, the 10th district had no incumbent Congressman; since then, it has been the scene of two spirited contests between the same two candidates, whose results reflect the difference between the political years of 1972 and 1974. The Republican nominee, and winner in 1972, was Samuel H. Young, a conservatively inclined lawyer and sometime Republican officeholder. Young upset an organization choice in the 1972 primary, and was the recipient of large contributions from, among others, W. Clement Stone, the waxed-mustachioed insurance millionaire who also gave \$2 million to Richard Nixon in 1972. Young represented the traditional Republican conservatism which until recently dominated the 10th district's suburbs, and continues to have considerable strength. In 1972, he campaigned in large part against George McGovern—who obviously was not going to carry this district—and in his two years as Congressman was almost invariably a supporter of Nixon Administration policies and, in the Watergate affair, Richard Nixon himself.

The Democratic candidate could hardly have been more different. Abner Mikva was a certified liberal: vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, a labor and civil liberties lawyer, an advocate of tax reform. He was also, in 1972, a Congressman—from Chicago. Mikva had run for Congress in the old 2d district which took in both Hyde Park and the Calumet steel mills in 1966 against the 84-year-old incumbent, Barratt O'Hara, the last member of Congress to be a veteran of the Spanish-American War. O'Hara had the support of the Daley organization, and Mikva lost that race; but he won an impressive 40% of the vote, and when he ran again in 1968, the machine capitulated to the inevitable and supported him. Then, in 1971, Mikva's old district was divided among its neighbors, and he decided to move to Evanston and run in the new 10th.

Mikva's campaigns in both 1972 and 1974 were based, to an even larger extent than Young's, on a massive volunteer organization. Once one gets beyond the Chicago city limits, one has passed the land of patronage politics; in the wealthy 10th district, a \$6500 a year city job is not a suitable incentive to political activity. In 1972, this volunteer organization was not quite enough to prevent Mikva from losing by 7,000 votes. But it was the key ingredient—together with sophisticated polling of voters on issues—in his 3,000 vote victory in 1974. It helped, probably, that Stevenson was carrying the district while two years before Republican Senator Charles Percy had won it by a 76-24 margin. But this was one of the best-publicized congressional elections in the United States, and perhaps the one where the very different positions of the candidates were best known. Turnout was higher than in all but a handful of districts. The result was no accident of coattails; it was a reflection, as the 1972 outcome was, of the feelings of the people of this wealthy district.

Mikva's enforced absence from Congress in 1973 and 1974 prevented him from participating, as he otherwise would have, as a member of the Judiciary Committee in the hearings on the impeachment of Richard Nixon. Now, on his return, he has won a seat on Ways and Means. Will he win again in 1976? He has now the advantages of incumbency, which almost helped Young hang on despite his pro-Nixon stance, and the Congressman is also an effective and ebullient speaker. There will undoubtedly be another high-participation election here in the 10th district, but the odds now seem to favor Mikva.

Young was opposed in the primary by men with even more conservative positions than his own: State Senator Minrod of Skokie, and Daniel Hales, Winnetka attorney and former campaigner for Representative Philip M. Crane. Mikva was unopposed in the primary.

Census Data Pop. 462,121. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$16,576; families above \$15,000: 55%; families below \$3,000: 3%. Median years education, 12.9.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 74%. Blue collar, 18%. Service, 8%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Black, 3%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 31%. USSR, Germany, Poland, 4% each; Italy, UK, Sweden, Canada, 2% each; Austria, 1%.



Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D) Elected 1974; b. Jan. 21, 1926, Milwaukee, Wis.; home, Evanston; U. of Chi., J.D. 1951.

Career Army Air Corps, WWII; Law Clerk for U.S. Supreme Ct. Justice Sherman Minton, 1951-52; Practicing atty., 1952-68; Ill. House of Reps., 1957-67; Candidate for Dem. nomination for U.S. House of Reps., 1966; U.S. House of Reps., 1969-73; Chm., Ill. Bd. of Ethics, 1973.

Offices 432 CHOB, 202-225-4835. Also 4016B Church St., Skokie 60076, 312-676-1350.

Committees

Ways and Means (23d). Subcommittees: Social Security; Trade.

Election Results

1974 general:	Abner J. Mikva (D)	83,457	(51%)	(\$286,225)
	Samuel H. Young (R)	80,597	(49%)	(\$251,249)
1974 primary:	Abner J. Mikva (D), unopposed			
1976 primary:	Abner J. Mikva (D)	46,475		
	Samuel H. Young (R)	21,194		
	Daniel B. Hales (R)	14,458		
	John J. Nimrod (R)	6,683		

Voting Record / Young

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 73 (p 19); and No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35).

Eleventh District

The 11th congressional district of Illinois is the northwest corner of the city of Chicago. Made up of comfortable middle-class neighborhoods, the 11th had the highest percentage of families with incomes over \$15,000 in 1970. It is also the Chicago district with the lowest percentage of blacks and the highest proportion of people of foreign stock. When second- or third-generation ethnics can afford to leave their old neighborhoods, or when they feel they must because blacks are moving in, they tend to move here to the northwest side. Almost all of Chicago's ethnic groups are thus well represented in these middle-class wards, especially Poles, Germans, Italians, Jews, Irish, and Greeks.

These are not people who are particularly attracted by the WASP suburbs; indeed they seem to consider them cold and inhospitable—and Republican. For these are ancestral Democrats, people who grew up revering Franklin D. Roosevelt and think of the Daley machine, not as a group of crooks living off their tax dollars, but as friendly people who can help you out when you need something from the city or county. They also are—or were—the kind of Democrats who didn't especially like seeing their tax money spent on (black) welfare mothers and antipoverty programs.

These attitudes were reflected with almost pinpoint accuracy by the district's longtime (1955-73) Congressman, Roman C. Pucinski. In his early years he was a faithful supporter of Kennedy and Johnson Administration social programs, but after a near-defeat in 1966 he became something of a gadfly to antipoverty program administrators. In 1972, Pucinski brought these attitudes to his quixotic, underfinanced race against Senator Charles Percy. With machine support, but after having antagonized the black community, Pucinski managed to carry only the 11th, plus the 5th, 7th, and 8th congressional districts—the latter all machine strongholds.

Pucinski's replacement was one of two Chicago Democrats who were redistricted out of their seats. The other, maverick Abner Mikva, moved to the North Shore 10th, and eventually won in 1974. Frank Annunzio, the man who moved to the 11th, is a solid machine man. "Frank is on my list of ten congressmen most likely to get indicted in the next 15 years—not that I have any dirt on him," one source told *Rolling Stone*. "It's just that he's the type of guy who gets indicted at least once in his career. Big pal of Mayor Daley. Big pal of the retailers and catalog houses in Chicago." Indeed, no one has ever suggested that Annunzio has done anything criminal, though he did get enjoined from sending franked mail into the 11th in 1972 when he was, technically, representing an entirely separate constituency.

That also caused Annunzio some political problems. In the old district, which had a large black population, he had opposed antibusing amendments; once he moved into the almost all-white 11th, he unashamedly took just the opposite view. Alderman John Hoellen, who had got 49% of the vote against Pucinski in 1966, got 47% against Annunzio in 1972, but the Democrat had won and he appears likely to retain the seat for as long as he wants. The Republican Party, indeed, shows signs of imminent collapse here: Hoellen, after running so well so recently, was not only beaten as the Republican candidate against Mayor Daley in 1975; he was forced to leave the race because the machine men managed to defeat him as Alderman of the usually Republican 45th ward. In the House, Annunzio, a favorite of Chairman Wayne Hays on the House Administration

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	144,169	(63%)
	McGovern (D)	85,928	(37%)
1968	Nixon (R)	112,602	(47%)
	Humphrey (D)	105,630	(44%)
	Wallace (AI)	19,285	(8%)

Group Ratings / Annunzio

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	47	95	89	23
1974	57	91	93	38
1973	72	100	100	15
1972	63	91	86	26
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	58	44	59	
1973	75	53	74	
1972	73	78	33	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	77	25	56	
1973	88	-	-	
1972	100	11	50	

Key Votes / Annunzio

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Annunzio

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Committee, became in 1975 Chairman of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee of Banking—a payoff, apparently, of his support for new Chairman Henry Reuss over his 78-year-old predecessor Wright Patman.

Daniel Reber won the Republican Primary in a close race against two opponents. Formerly assistant to Congressman Charles Mathias, Jr., he now teaches political science at the Chicago Loop College, and is running for office for the first time.

Census Data Pop. 461,079. Central city, 100%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$12,005; families above \$15,000: 31%; families below \$3,000: 5%. Median years education, 11.5.

The Voters

Median voting age 48.

Employment profile White collar, 53%. Blue collar, 37%. Service, 10%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 47%. Poland, 10%; Germany, 7%; Italy, 5%; USSR, 3%; Ireland, Greece, Sweden, Austria, 2% each; UK, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, 1% each.



Rep. Frank Annunzio (D) Elected 1964; b. Jan. 12, 1915, Chicago; home, Chicago; De Paul U., B.S. 1940; M.A. 1942; Catholic.

Career Public school teacher, 1935-43; Legis. and Ed. Dir., United Steelworkers of Amer., Chicago, Calumet Region Dist. 31, 1943-49; Dir., Ill. Dept. of Labor, 1949-52; Private businessman, 1952-64.

Offices 2303 RHOB, 202-225-6661. Also Suite 201, 4747 W. Peterson Ave., Chicago 60646, 312-736-0700.

Committees

Banking, Currency, and Housing (11th). Subcommittees: Consumer Affairs (Chairman); Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Historic Preservation and Coinage.

House Administration (7th). Accounts; Personnel and Police (Chairman); Ad Hoc Computer.

Election Results

1974 general:	Frank Annunzio (D)	102,541	(72%)	(\$60,397)
	Mitchell G. Zadrozny (R)	39,182	(28%)	(\$33,362)
1974 primary:	Frank Annunzio (D)	69,698	(89%)	
	Aris F. Yanibas (D)	8,392	(11%)	
1972 general:	Frank Annunzio (D)	118,637	(53%)	(\$117,415)
	John J. Hoellen (R)	103,773	(47%)	(\$108,126)
1976 primary:	Frank Annunzio (D)	85,229		
	Daniel C. Reber (R)	5,911		
	Mitchell G. Zadrozny (R)	4,394		
	Edward D. Kelley (R)	3,050		

Twelfth District

Only four congressional districts in the nation more than doubled their population during the 1960s. Three were in California, and the other was the 12th district of Illinois. This is not a particularly neatly shaped district: it includes the six northwest townships of Cook County and, just to the north, the southern portion of Lake County. This territory includes the extremely wealthy North Shore suburbs of Highland Park and Lake Forest which in the 1972 election were at the same time the richest and least pro-Nixon parts of the district. But it is the suburbs farther west, just beyond booming O'Hare Airport, that have been growing the most rapidly. As one drives through, say, Schaumburg on the freeway, one sees the spectacle of one of the nation's largest Searses, surrounded by a giant shopping center—and right next to it a cornfield. The corn, one can predict, will not last for long: this is prime real estate, the place where young, affluent families from Chicago are naturally gravitating. There are fewer old people here, and more children, than in any other Illinois congressional district.

The 12th politically is more or less a descendant of the old 13th district, which also included all of what now is the 10th. For six years, until the Nixon Administration took office, that old district was represented by Donald Rumsfeld, now rescued from the ignominy of having served Nixon by a job as President Ford's top aide. As Congressman, Rumsfeld had a reputation in his district for being some kind of liberal Republican, though that seems to have been mainly because he was young and genial; his voting record was close to that of dour, aging Illinois conservatives.

Of the ideology of Rumsfeld's successor, Republican Philip Crane, there can be no doubt. A former professor at Peoria's Bradley University and an early supporter of Barry Goldwater in 1964, Crane is a conservative intellectual. His voting record is firmly based on his almost libertarian (tempered by anti-Communist) principles, and he often finds himself casting lone dissenting votes on liberal measures. Crane's militant conservatism weakened him in the old 13th district, particularly in the North Shore suburbs of Evanston, Winnetka, Wilmette, and Glencoe, and in predominantly Jewish Skokie. But all those suburbs are now in the 10th district, and in 1972 he won his first really solid majority in the newer 12th, which seems considerably less choosy about which ideological sort of Republicans it supports. Even against an opponent who campaigned hard in the Democratic year of 1974, Crane won a comfortable 61%, and should not have any difficulty winning again in the future.

His opponent is Edwin Frank, a businessman and long-time member of his township's Regular Democratic Organization.

GOVERNOR



Gov. Dan Walker (D) Elected 1972, term expires Jan. 1977; b. Aug. 6, 1922, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Naval Acad., B.A. 1945, Northwestern U., LL.B. 1950; Methodist.

Career Navy, 1945-47, Korea; Law Clerk, U.S. Supreme Ct. Chf. Justice Fred Vinson, 1951; Admin. Aide to Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson II, 1952; Practicing atty., 1953-66; Dir., Pioneer Trust & Savings Bank, and Montgomery Ward Life Ins. Co., 1966-71.

Offices Springfield 62706, 217-782-6830.

Election Results

1972 general:	Daniel Walker (D)	2,371,303	(51%)
	Richard B. Ogilvie (R)	2,293,809	(49%)
1972 primary:	Daniel Walker (D)	735,193	(51%)
	Paul Simon (D)	694,000	(49%)

		Downstate	Cook County
1976 primary:	Michael J. Howlett (D).....	811,721	225,324
	Daniel Walker (D).....	696,380	368,758
	James R. Thompson (R).....	625,457	443,443
	Richard H. Cooper (R).....	97,937	72,404
			556,397
			327,622
			182,014
			25,533

CONGRESSMEN

First District

In the spring of 1972, police beat up two black men on the South Side of Chicago. It was not the first time such a thing had happened without justification nor, assuredly, would it be the last. But this particular gratuitous act would turn out to be one with major consequences for Chicago politics, more profound perhaps than those which flowed from the police riot outside the Conrad Hilton in August 1968. For the two black men who were beaten happened to be well-to-do dentists, prominent in the community. Quite naturally, they complained to their old friend, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe of the 1st district of Illinois—the recent successor to William L. Dawson, and the undisputed leader of the black portion of Richard J. Daley's Democratic machine.

Metcalfe was appalled. He was by no means a maverick or a militant, not after 16 years of loyal service on the Chicago City Council and his selection as Dawson's successor. At 62, he was still best known from his days as an Olympics sprinter, when he finished just behind Jesse Owens in the 1936 games in Berlin. But these beatings were just too much for Metcalfe to stomach. The Congressman demanded a meeting with Mayor Daley—at his, Metcalfe's, office. The Mayor refused to come. And so began Metcalfe's break with the Daley machine.

Like any medieval monarch, Daley is not in the habit of responding to summonses to appear at other people's courts, but in Metcalfe's case he might have been wise to do so. For as the clear political leader of the South Side, Metcalfe held—and holds—a position of key importance to the Chicago machine. The South Side is the largest black ghetto in the United States, larger than Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant. And voters here come out and vote in much larger proportions. In the early sixties, when Daley faced a strong challenge from the Republicans and was losing most of the city's white wards, it was the solid vote from the South Side that kept him in office. And until 1972, the South Side had remained strongly with the machine. Metcalfe himself, challenged by a well-known insurgent black Alderman, had won 71% of the vote in his 1970 primary and 91% in the general election. And in the 1972 general election, as in 1968, the 1st district provided a higher Democratic percentage and majority than any other congressional district in the nation.

But even before the dentists were beaten up, the South Side—and Metcalfe—were growing restive with the machine. In 1972, Daley had first endorsed State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan for renomination. The black community hated Hanrahan for his role in a raid that left two Black Panther leaders dead. Metcalfe balked, and Daley—fearful of losing the South Side majorities for his other candidates—withdraw the Hanrahan endorsement. Hanrahan won the primary anyway; but in the general election, he lost most of the South Side wards to the winner, Republican Bernard Carey.

The same wards also went for Republican Senator Charles Percy over his challenger Roman Pucinski, whose campaign catered to the backlash, antibusing vote. During that campaign,

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	112,900	(70%)
	McGovern (D)	49,217	(30%)
1968	Nixon (R)	88,969	(61%)
	Humphrey (D)	46,166	(31%)
	Wallace (AI)	11,895	(8%)

Group Ratings / McClory

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	32	17	27	67
1974	24	9	50	40
1973	38	0	30	63
1972	38	18	43	45
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	75	79	24	
1973	73	92	37	
1972	73	69	25	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	23	67	70	
1973	38	—	—	
1972	0	73	78	

Key Votes / McClory

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / McClory

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

problems were somewhat less than they may have seemed. The Republican primary had long since passed in Illinois, and McClory had won handily; he faced strenuous opposition in the general election, but the district's Tribune-nourished Republicanism was enough to give him a 55-45 victory. (If he had stuck with Nixon all the way, however, he probably would have lost.) Presumably he can win again, although at his age there is always the possibility of retirement.

The 1976 Democratic primary was a baffling upset. The winner James Cummings was as stunned as his opponent, a young well-respected lawyer who had received the party's endorsement. In fact, Cummings, who was listed 2nd on the ballot, had no campaign staff other than his father, and spent virtually no money on his campaign. Cummings, an Illinois Transportation Department accountant, has avoided both publicity and Democratic club endorsements.

McClory may lose a few Republican votes to American Independent candidate Des Lauriers, because of McClory's support for gun control. However, in the absence of another fluke, McClory should have no trouble winning reelection.

Census Data Pop. 463,096. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$11,994; families above \$15,000: 31%; families below \$3,000: 5%. Median years education, 12.2.

The Voters

Median voting age 39.

Employment profile White collar, 47%. Blue collar, 40%. Service, 12%. Farm, 1%.

Ethnic groups Black, 5%. Spanish, 3%. Total foreign stock, 18%. Germany, 4%; Poland, UK, Sweden, Canada, 1% each.



Rep. Robert McClory (R) Elected 1962; b. Jan. 31, 1908, Riverside; home, Lake Bluff; Dartmouth Col., 1926-28, Chicago-Kent Col. of Law, LL.B. 1932.

Career Practicing atty.; Ill. House of Reps., 1951-53; Ill. Senate, 1953-63.

Offices 2452 RHOB, 202-225-5221. Also Kane County Municipal Bldg., 150 Dexter Ct., Elgin 60120, 312-697-5005.

Committees

Judiciary (2d). Subcommittees: Crime; Monopolies and Commercial

Law.

Election Results

1974 general:	Robert McClory (R)	51,405	(55%)	(\$38,921)
	Stanley W. Beetham (D)	42,903	(45%)	(\$39,642)
1974 primary:	Robert McClory (R)	29,368	(71%)	
	Edward M. Vass (R)	11,980	(29%)	
1972 general:	Robert McClory (R)	98,201	(61%)	(\$25,010)
	Stanley W. Beetham (D)	61,537	(39%)	(\$20,120)
1976 primary:	Robert McClory (R)			
	James J. Cummings (D)			
	F. James Lumber (D)			
	Don DesLauriers (I)			

Fourteenth District

If you take 1970 median family income as the standard, three of the nation's five richest congressional districts lie in the suburbs of Chicago. The 14th is one of them. And of all these rich districts, the 14th is indisputably the most heavily Republican and conservative. The district includes practically all of DuPage County, a fast-growing, wealthy group of suburbs directly west of Chicago, which regularly produces higher Republican percentages than Orange County, California. Appropriately, DuPage was also the site of the palatial estate of Colonel McCormick, the longtime owner of the Chicago Tribune. For almost fifty years, McCormick's paper was the house organ for his brand of conservative, isolationist Republicanism. And if DuPage County can no longer be counted as isolationist, then it certainly has remained conservative; the Colonel would not be displeased at how it has responded to the political choices put before it in the twenty years since his death. In 1964, for example, DuPage gave 60% of its votes to Barry Goldwater; in 1972, 75% for Richard Nixon. Indeed, the suburbs of Chicago, led by DuPage, have become the heartland of Illinois Republicanism, producing larger percentages and sometimes more votes for the party's candidates than historically Republican Downstate Illinois.

The Colonel might not be quite so pleased—at least not all the time—with the record of the 14th district's Congressman, John Erlenborn. He is, to be sure, one of the leading conservatives on the liberal-dominated Education and Labor Committee, as well as second-ranking Republican on Government Operations. But on occasion Erlenborn, if he has not exactly strayed from orthodoxy, has at least taken some positions which one might not have expected from a representative of his constituency. He has, for example, worked to break down Executive Branch secrecy, even at a time when that Branch was in the hands of his own party, and he voted for opening up the highway trust fund to spending for mass transit. Still under 50, he is one of the brighter conservative-to-moderate Republicans and, as might be expected, he has had little difficulty winning in this always Republican district.

His Democratic opponent Marie Fese won a close four-way race. She had been endorsed by the I.V.I. and had experience in union politics, teaching, and the women's movement. As expected, the combined Democratic vote in this primary equaled only half the combined Republican primary vote.

Census Data Pop. 464,029. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$14,527; families above \$15,000: 47%; families below \$3,000: 2%. Median years education, 12.6.

The Voters

Median voting age 40.

Employment profile White collar, 65%. Blue collar, 27%. Service, 8%. Farm, -%.

Ethnic groups Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 21%. Germany, 4%; Italy, Poland, UK, 2% each; Czechoslovakia, Canada, Sweden, 1% each.



Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R) Elected 1964; b. Feb. 8, 1927, Chicago; home, Elmhurst; U. of Notre Dame, 1944, Ind. St. Teachers Col., 1944-45, U. of Ill., 1945-46, Loyola U., LL.B. 1949; Catholic.

Career Navy, WWII; Practicing atty., 1949-50, 1952-64; Asst. State's Atty., DuPage Co., 1950-52; Ill. House of Reps., 1957-65.

Offices 2236 RHOB, 202-225-3515. Also DuPage Co. Ctr., 421 N. County Farm Rd., Wheaton 60187, 312-668-1417.

Committees

Education and Labor (4th). Subcommittees: Labor Standards; Post-

secondary Education.

Government Operations (2d). Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs; Legislation and National Security.

Election Results

1974 general:	John N. Erlenborn (R)	77,718	(67%)	(\$34,214)
	Robert H. Renshaw (D)	38,981	(33%)	(\$3,474)
1974 primary:	John N. Erlenborn (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	John N. Erlenborn (R)	154,794	(73%)	(\$24,871)
	James M. Wall (D)	57,874	(27%)	(\$7,183)
1976 primary:	John Erlenborn (R).....	53,627		
	William A. Broderick (R).....	10,528		
	Marie Agnes Fese (D).....	13,023		
	Winfield Green (D).....	8,579		
	Nicholas F. (Nick) Thomas (D).....	6,885		
	Romaine Troost (D).....	3,573		

Fifteenth District

The 15th congressional district of Illinois is part of the corn-growing prairie that stretches west from Chicago toward the Rocky Mountains more than a thousand miles away. This is some of the richest farmland in the nation, criss-crossed by railroads and highways radiating out from Chicago to gather in the products of its fields. Part of the 15th—the small, conservative city of Aurora—is only 30 miles from Chicago; from there one can proceed to DeKalb, site of Northern Illinois University, or south to small industrial towns like Ottawa and LaSalle and Streator which are on the way to Peoria. With its fertile soil and prosperous farmers, the 15th district has been, historically, one of the most solidly Republican constituencies in the nation; only LaSalle County ordinarily turns in a Democratic margin. Yet in the last five years, this area has had four different Congressmen—and one of them a Democrat.

Part of the reason for this was redistricting. The old districts represented by Republicans Charlotte Reid (former vocalist with Don McNeil's Breakfast Club) and Leslie Arends were combined; Reid resigned to take a place on the FCC, and her seat was won by Republican Clifford Carlson, who declined to face Arends in the 1972 general election. His reasoning was simple. Arends was one of the grand old men of the Republican Party, first elected to Congress in 1934, House Minority Whip since 1943 (except for the two occasions when Republicans had a majority, when he was Majority Leader). Arends, with his modishly long white hair curling up under his collar, remained a familiar figure in the House almost till he was 80, eagerly gladhanding his colleagues, joking with them and seeking their votes. A senior member of the hawkish Armed Services Committee, on issues he was Republican conservative orthodoxy personified. At home, he was considered invulnerable.

Yet in 1972, Arends received only 59% in the primary and 57% in the general in the 15th—far below what he had grown accustomed to. True, the change in district boundaries had forced him to run in unfamiliar territory, and he had never been one to send out tons of franked mail to impress his constituents. But at 77, Arends was just not much of a campaigner anymore, while his opponents, Aurora Mayor John Cunningham and Democrat Tim Hall, were able to make massive inroads. Arends made a nominal try for the Minority Leadership when Gerald Ford became Vice President, but House Republicans were not about to make a near-octogenarian their major spokesman. It was time for him to retire, and in 1974 he did—leaving the seat vacant in one of the most heavily Democratic years Illinois has lately seen.

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	163,652	(75%)
	McGovern (D)	53,631	(25%)
1968	Nixon (R)	118,955	(67%)
	Humphrey (D)	45,922	(26%)
	Wallace (AI)	13,082	(7%)

Group Ratings / Erlenborn

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	11	5	18	84
1974	24	27	33	54
1973	25	0	22	60
1972	19	25	17	67
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	83	86	35	
1973	63	100	33	
1972	73	82	47	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	15	67	100	
1973	17	—	—	
1972	100	100	100	

Key Votes / Erlenborn

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	ABS
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Erlenborn

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	133,061	(66%)
	McGovern (D)	68,288	(34%)
1968	Nixon (R)	110,036	(59%)
	Humphrey (D)	64,529	(35%)
	Wallace (AI)	11,832	(6%)

Group Ratings / Hall

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	84	100	91	14

Key Votes / Hall

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	NE
3) ABM	NE
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	NE
6) Gov Abortn Aid	NE
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	NE
9) Pub Trans Sub	NE
10) EZ Voter Regis	NE
11) Pub Cong Election \$	NE
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	NE
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Hall

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issue: No. 71 (pp 22-23).

Voting Record / Washburn

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issues: No. 62 (pp 8-9 or 15-18);
No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp
6-11 or 15-16).

The result was a wide-open battle. Hall, a 49-year-old teacher from the small town of Dwight, managed to beat Martin Dubin, a professor at NIU, for the Democratic nomination. There were five Republican candidates, and the winner, former Congressman Carlson, won with only 24% of the vote. In the Watergate-tinged general election, Hall was able to carry seven of the district's ten counties, and take the district by a 52-46 margin. This undoubtedly will be a fiercely contested race in 1976, especially since Hall's liberal voting record seems incongruous in such a traditionally conservative district. Hall hopes his folksy personality and conscientious service to constituents will carry him to victory, but also defends his liberal votes as necessary to solve serious unemployment problems in his district.

James Washburn, the runner-up in this year's Republican primary, is minority leader of the Illinois House of Representatives. He was considered an aggressive campaigner and had old guard party support, including the endorsement of former U.S. Representative Leslie C. Arends (R 1935-75); however he did not come from any of the district's population centers. His victorious opponent, Tom Corcoran, comes from one of the district's population centers, was endorsed by Charlotte Reid, former Republican Representative (1961-72) and now federal communications commissioner. Corcoran, 36, spent several years as an aide to Republicans in the Illinois legislature and worked in the state's office in Washington, D.C. He is now a railroad executive in Chicago. Corcoran is linked to the moderate wing of the party that includes former Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie (1969-73) and Sen. Charles H. Percy, but is taking conservative positions and has considerable conservative support.

The 15th, which saw little political turbulence in the last 40 years, has been getting used to it in the past few.

Census Data Pop. 462,969. Central city, 0%; suburban, 33%. Median family income, \$10,619; families above \$15,000: 22%; families below \$3,000: 6%. Median years education, 12.2.

The Voters

Median voting age 42.

Employment profile White collar, 41%. Blue collar, 42%. Service, 12%. Farm, 5%.

Ethnic groups Black, 2%, Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 14%. Germany, 3%; Italy, UK, Sweden, 1% each.



Rep. Tim L. Hall (D) Elected 1974; b. June 11, 1925, West Frankfort; home, Dwight; Ia. Wesleyan Col., B.A. 1951; So. Ill. U., M.S. 1956; Valpraiso U.; Methodist.

Career Coast Guard, WWII; High school teacher and principal; Training Co-ord., Wm. Fox Children's Ctr.

Offices 1221 LHOB, 202-225-2976. Also 107 Franklin St., Dwight 60420, 815-584-1084.

Committees

Education and Labor (27th). Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education; Post-secondary Education; Select Subcommittee on Education.

Science and Technology (21st). Subcommittees: Aviation and Transportation Research and Development; Science, Research, and Technology; Space Science and Applications.

Election Results

1974 general:	Tim L. Hall (D)	61,912	(52%)	(\$29,398)
	Cliffard D. Carlson (R)	54,278	(46%)	(\$110,540)
	K. Douglas Lassiter (Ind.)	2,817	(2%)	(\$1,256)
1974 primary:	Tim L. Hall (D)	8,986	(45%)	
	Martin D. Dubin (D)	6,783	(34%)	
	Emmett J. Slingsby (D)	4,275	(21%)	
1976 primary:	Tim L. Hall (D)	34,698		
	Tom Corcoran (R)	18,798		
	James R. Washburn (R)	15,705		
	John Andre Cunningham (R)	7,820		
	Walter B. Lunsford (R)	3,923		
	Clarence E. Batchelor (R)	1,565		

Sixteenth District

The northwest corner of Illinois, which forms the state's 16th congressional district, is a little different politically, from the rest of the state. A little like Wisconsin or Iowa, this part of Illinois has a larger number of Scandinavian-Americans and a stronger good-government tradition than the patronage-ridden politics of Chicago and most of Downstate Illinois. The largest city here is Rockford, which is actually the state's second largest; but its metropolitan area population is only 272,000, which is pretty insignificant next to Chicago's nearly seven million. The rest of the 16th is primarily agricultural. Points of interest include Freeport, site of the most famous Lincoln-Douglas debate; and the home town of President U.S. Grant, Galena, once a thriving commercial center but now a Mississippi River backwater.

John B. Anderson has been the 16th's Congressman since the 1960 election. He began his House career in a fashion more or less indistinguishable from other Illinois Republicans, but as time went on he strayed more and more from their orthodoxy. At the same time, his parliamentary talents won him a seat on the House Rules Committee and, in 1969, the position of Chairman of the House Republican Conference.

Anderson's apostasy is not total, but it is frequent enough to irritate many conservative Republicans. For example, he opposed the bombing of Cambodia (even though he had previously voted against end-the-war legislation) and he fought against the Alaskan pipeline and for the route that would go through Canada to the oil-hungry Midwest. With Democrat Morris Udall of Arizona, Anderson sponsored a proposal to provide matching funds to candidates who raise certain amounts in small contributions; its basic principle has been embodied in the presidential financing statute passed in 1974. And even when Anderson has chosen to line up with the Republican Administration, he often seems to do so most enthusiastically on those measures with minimal, lukewarm White House support: for example, the family assistance plan and the move to allow local governments to tap the highway trust fund for mass transit.

Perhaps most irritating, for many House Republicans, was Anderson's stance on Watergate-related issues. He came out early and resoundingly against the Nixon Administration's broad view of executive privilege and its narrow view of what the people were entitled to know. Obviously skeptical of Nixon's protestations of innocence, Anderson was vigorously calling for explanations even before many Democrats. All of which led some Republicans to conclude that he was not really their man. Way back in 1971, Anderson had kept the Conference Chairman post against Samuel Devine of Ohio by a thin 89-81 margin; as the impeachment hearings opened, he might not have done so well among his fellow Republicans.

But the outcome of the Nixon mess vindicated Anderson's judgment, and the 1974 Democratic landslide sharply reduced the ranks of his critics. When he was challenged by Charles Wiggins at the beginning of 1975, the vote this time was a solid 85-52 margin.

The vote proved again, if any proof was needed, the conservative nature of the Republican House membership, for many had voted for Anderson despite, and not because of, his stands on issues. But it is also worth keeping in mind that Anderson is very definitely a Republican, and not a Democrat-in-disguise. He does believe that Republican economic policies are generally sounder and better for the nation, that the Pentagon budget should not be substantially tampered with, that the federal government is too big and should somehow be cut back. Indeed, throughout 1973 he was seriously considering making a run against Senator Adlai Stevenson, and not just out of vaulting ambition, but because he really differed with Stevenson on many issues. In the Watergate year, he decided wisely against making the race after a sophisticated poll showed him he would have a tough time in the primary with Nixon loyalists and in the general with Democrats and some Independents. The 16th district, on the other hand, with its tinge of good-government tradition, has suited Anderson just fine over the years. In 1974, however, a conservative independent got a surprising 16% of the vote—perhaps the hard-core Nixonites—which together with the Democrat's 29% held Anderson down to the unimpressive level of 55%. This is probably not a portent for future trouble—but it does illustrate the problems he would have had if he had run for the Senate.

In 1976 no one even filed against Anderson in either party primary. Two write-in candidates, Stephen Eytalis and Margaret Brechon, received only 166 and 128 votes respectively.

Census Data Pop. 461,719. Central city, 32%; suburban, 36%. Median family income, \$10,668; families above \$15,000: 21%; families below \$3,000: 7%. Median years education, 12.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 43.

Employment profile White collar, 41%. Blue collar, 43%. Service, 11%. Farm, 5%.

Ethnic groups Black, 4%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 14%. Germany, Sweden, 3% each; Italy, 2%; UK, 1%.



Rep. John B. Anderson (R) Elected 1960; b. Feb. 15, 1922, Rockford; home, Rockford; U. of Ill., B.A., J.D. 1946, Harvard U. LL.M. 1949; Evangelical Church.

Career Army, WWII; Practicing atty.; U.S. Foreign Svc., Germany, 1952-55; State's Atty., Winnebago Co., 1956-60.

Offices 1101 LHOB, 202-225-5676. Also 401 W. State St., Rockford 61101, 815-962-8807.

Committees

Rules (2d).

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy Ranking Member, House Side. Subcommittees: ERDA, Environment and Safety; ERDA, Nuclear Energy; Legislation; Licensing and Regulation; Military Applications.

Election Results

1974 general:	John B. Anderson (R)	65,175	(55%)	(\$74,346)
	Marshall Hungness (D)	33,724	(29%)	(\$4,587)
	W. John Schade, Jr. (Ind.)	18,580	(16%)	(\$9,471)
1974 primary:	John B. Anderson (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	John B. Anderson (R)	129,640	(72%)	(\$33,544)
	John E. Devine, Jr. (D)	50,649	(28%)	(\$1,463)
1976 primary:	John B. Anderson (R), unopposed.....	41,490		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	120,432	(66%)
	McGovern (D)	62,339	(34%)
1968	Nixon (R)	102,066	(58%)
	Humphrey (D)	62,663	(36%)
	Wallace (AI)	11,524	(7%)

Group Ratings / Anderson

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	58	41	36	54
1974	50	45	64	33
1973	38	27	33	46
1972	44	36	50	43
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	91	100	58	
1973	75	85	67	
1972	91	100	6	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	18	56	90	
1973	50	-	-	
1972	0	89	89	

Key Votes / Anderson

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	ABS
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Anderson

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	122,873	(66%)
	McGovern (D)	62,394	(34%)
1968	Nixon (R)	89,060	(52%)
	Humphrey (D)	61,674	(36%)
	Wallace (AI)	20,349	(12%)

Group Ratings / O'Brien

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	11	24	27	67
1974	18	0	46	53
1973	17	27	35	68
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	50	53	25	
1973	73	71	19	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	23	83	100	
1973	29	-	-	

Key Votes / O'Brien

1) Foreign Aid	ABS
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	ABS
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / O'Brien

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18).

Seventeenth District

The 17th is one of Illinois's new congressional districts, the result of a federal court order issued in 1971. It combines the southern edge of the Chicago metropolitan area with the fertile farmland of the central Illinois prairie. The district's largest city is Joliet (pop. 78,000), an economically healthy manufacturing center 50 miles from Chicago; somewhat less prosperous is Kankakee (pop. 30,000), on the river and in the county of the same name, some 80 miles from Chicago and smack in the middle of the farmland. Taken together, this territory is politically marginal, normally running about 5% more Republican than the state as a whole. But taken unit by unit, it is widely varied. Agricultural Iroquois County is one of the most Republican in the state; Joliet inclines toward the Democrats; Chicago Heights and Park Forest are swing suburbs, likely to go with (and thus help determine) the winner of any statewide election.

The redistricting plan approved by the court had earlier passed the Illinois House, and the boundaries of the 17th were generally believed to have been sculpted especially for the incumbent House Speaker, W. Robert Blair. Considerable criticism ensued, and Blair never ran. Instead, the nomination went to Joliet State Representative George O'Brien, a veteran of Will County local government. O'Brien's 56-44 victory over Democrat John J. Houlihan followed roughly the established party preferences in the district. His squeak-through 51-49 margin in his 1974 rematch against Houlihan illustrates the effects of Watergate. Despite all the advantages of incumbency, O'Brien was not able to hold his own percentage against the same opponent. His percentages dropped most steeply in the Cook County portion of the district (Chicago Heights, etc.), which he carried in '72 but lost in '74, and in rock-ribbed Republican Iroquois County. Turnout was down sharply in Cook and Will Counties, indicating that traditional Republicans in these urban areas were simply not bothering to vote; while the decreasing O'Brien percentage in Iroquois clearly indicates a protest vote among morality-conscious Republicans.

His opponent, Merlin Karlock is a banker and agri-businessman with long experience, both elective and appointive on numerous boards of higher education. A convert from the Republican Party, Karlock is out-spending O'Brien by a huge margin, using mostly his own funds, and has not made a full financial disclosure. In addition, Karlock is not coordinating his campaign with the district's Democratic Party. To offset the loss of some traditional urban Democratic support, Karlock may pick up enough rural votes to seriously challenge O'Brien, who is not an aggressive campaigner.

Census Data Pop. 462,943. Central city, 0%; suburban, 72%. Median family income, \$11,286; families above \$15,000: 26%; families below \$3,000: 6%. Median years education, 12.0.

The Voters

Median voting age 41.

Employment profile White collar, 42%. Blue collar, 43%. Service, 12%. Farm, 3%.

Ethnic groups Black, 9%. Spanish, 3%. Total foreign stock, 16%. Germany, Italy, 2% each; Poland, 1%.



Rep. George M. O'Brien (R) Elected 1972; b. June 17, 1917, Chicago; home, Joliet; Northwestern U., A.B. 1939, Yale U., J.D. 1947; Catholic.

Career Air Force, WWII; Practicing atty.; Will Co. Bd. of Supervisors, 1956-64; Ill. House of Reps., 1971-72.

Offices 422 CHOB, 202-225-3635. Also 57 N. Ottawa St., Joliet 60431, 815-727-4718.

Committees

Armed Services (6th). Subcommittees: Military Compensation; Military Personnel.

Veterans' Affairs (9th). Subcommittees: Cemeteries and Burial Benefits; Hospitals.

Election Results

1974 general:	George M. O'Brien (R)	59,984	(51%)	(\$80,053)
	John J. Houlihan (D)	56,541	(49%)	(\$24,863)
1974 primary:	George M. O'Brien (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	George M. O'Brien (R)	100,175	(56%)	(\$55,360)
	John J. Houlihan (D)	79,840	(44%)	(\$32,748)
1976 primary:	George M. O'Brien (R)	30,567		
	Merlin Karlock (D)	28,418		

Eighteenth District

"Will it play in Peoria?" was a favorite question of former White House Advisor John Ehrlichman in the Nixon Administration, asked with the sneering implication that the questioner's way would and the critic's would not. After all, the expertise Nixon's men and Nixon himself brought to the White House—for none had ever occupied administrative positions in government—was not how to make policies work, but how to sell them. And for the Nixonites, that meant Peoria, a place in which coincidentally market researchers like to test commercial products, and one which had always, in the past, produced comfortable margins for Richard Nixon and his Republicans. Peoria (pop. 127,000), which is the heart of Illinois's 18th congressional district, has always epitomized Middle America—both its virtues and its failings. The Caterpillar tractor concern and other heavy industrial employers have kept the town humming; it is impervious to all but the most serious recessions, and provides a comfortable living to most of its inhabitants. It has produced some remarkable citizens, like Betty Friedan of women's liberation fame, and (technically his home was in Pekin, across the Illinois River) the late Everett McKinley Dirksen.

The Peoria that John Ehrlichman had in mind was one epitomized more by its Dirksens than its Friedmans—an impression fortified by the list of men who have represented the 18th district in the House for the last 40 years. There was Everett Dirksen, who retired in 1948 when he thought he was going blind, recovered, and beat Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas in the 1950 election. Dirksen, before all the fustian became a national legend, was a pillar of his party's Taft conservative wing. He was succeeded in the House by Harold H. Velde, who worked on the old House Un-American Activities Committee in its most un-American days. Velde was succeeded in 1956 by Robert Michel, then his administrative assistant, and now Minority Whip of the House of Representatives. Such steadfast Republican orthodoxy is hard to match.

But its steadfastness is not quite as great as appears, if one looks back at recent election returns. The 18th district was carried comfortably as long ago as 1970 by Senator Adlai Stevenson, running against an interim incumbent who conducted a Nixon-Agnew flag-pin-in-the-lapel, draft-dodgers-be-damned campaign. And then came Watergate which—the point cannot be made too strongly—did not play in Peoria at all. The ancestral Republicanism of the 18th district almost evaporated. Stevenson carried the district easily, and Congressman Michel was almost defeated. Against a little-known and underfinanced 29-year-old Democrat, Michel won only 53% of the vote in Peoria County and 55% in the district as a whole.

It would have been doubly embarrassing if Michel had lost. Not only does he have an historically safe Republican district, he was also at that time Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. He had long been a popular conservative (and star pitcher on the House Republican softball team) in the tight little world that conservative Republican congressmen live in, and had advanced nearly to the top of the seniority ladder on the House Appropriations Committee. When the Nixon people wanted to dump the HRCOC chairman in 1973, Michel ran against their choice, Clarence (Bud) Brown of Ohio, and easily beat him. It was a melancholy year to take the job: few promising Republican challengers would agree to run, many strong incumbents were retiring, and dozens of usually Republican seats were in danger.

Obviously, to judge from his election as Whip, none of the House Republicans blamed Michel, and none should. He can be expected to exert the same kind of leadership that Gerald Ford did in the past and John Rhodes does now. He will be solidly conservative on the issues, even occasionally disagreeing with the White House position. He will work tirelessly among the currently depleted ranks, winning every vote possible and staying on good terms even with those mavericks who usually go the other way. (It almost always pays off, sooner or later.) His job for 1976 will be mostly to uphold presidential vetoes; and his future may depend on whether Republicans are able to win back many of the seats they lost in 1974. It seems scarcely likely that Michel himself will have the kind of trouble that surprised him last time, but Peoria has at least made the point that it cannot be taken for granted.

Census Data Pop. 463,155. Central city, 27%; suburban, 40%. Median family income, \$10,096; families above \$15,000: 20%; families below \$3,000: 7%. Median years education, 12.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 44%. Blue collar, 38%. Service, 13%. Farm, 5%.

Ethnic groups Black, 4%. Total foreign stock, 9%. Germany, 2%; UK, 1%.



Rep. Robert H. Michel (R) Elected 1956; b. Mar. 2, 1923, Peoria; home, Peoria; Bradley U., B.S. 1948; Apostolic Christian.

Career Army, WWII; Admin. Asst., U.S. Rep. Harold Velde, 1949–56.

Offices 2112 RHOB, 202-225-6201. Also 1007 1st Natl. Bank Bldg., Peoria 61602, 309-673-6358.

Committees

Minority Whip

Appropriations (2d). Subcommittees: Labor-HEW.

Election Results

1974 general:	Robert H. Michel (R)	71,681	(55%)	(\$33,851)
	Stephen L. Nordvall (D)	59,225	(45%)	(\$10,776)
1974 primary:	Robert H. Michel (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	Robert H. Michel (R)	124,407	(65%)	(\$20,850)
	Stephen L. Nordvall (D)	67,514	(35%)	(\$2,901)
1976 primary:	Robert H. Michel (R).....	43,989		
	Matthew Ryan (D).....	25,943		
	Virgil R. Grunkmeyer (D).....	9,443		
	George W. Zachringer (D).....	5,022		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	128,747	(66%)
	McGovern (D)	67,503	(34%)
1968	Nixon (R)	98,747	(51%)
	Humphrey (D)	77,938	(41%)
	Wallace (AI)	15,667	(8%)

Group Ratings / Michel

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	16	9	9	81
1974	11	18	43	93
1973	0	0	15	88
1972	6	30	33	94

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	40	58	27
1973	9	33	6
1972	22	33	15

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	0	75	100
1973	14	—	—
1972	50	89	100

Key Votes / Michel

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortn Aid	ABS
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Michel

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Nineteenth District

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	124,549	(62%)
	McGovern (D)	77,194	(38%)
1968	Nixon (R)	104,149	(53%)
	Humphrey (D)	80,058	(41%)
	Wallace (AI)	13,167	(7%)

Group Ratings / Railsback

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	42	58	70	54
1974	35	45	64	46
1973	40	36	71	33
1972	44	22	67	47
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	75	88	31	
1973	82	93	28	
1972	100	100	42	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	15	36	89	
1973	43	—	—	
1972	0	60	89	

Key Votes / Railsback

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	ABS
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Railsback

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Tom Railsback is one of forty-odd Republican Congressmen who were elected in Democratic districts in 1966—the best Republican congressional election year since Eisenhower won his second term. Railsback was then 34, an attorney from Rock Island, Illinois, who had been in practice for less than ten years, and a four-year veteran of the Illinois legislature. He was the kind of bright young man (John Anderson of the 16th district had been another, in 1960) whom the Republican elders of the area picked as their standard-bearer: a young lawyer who could stay in Congress many years and accumulate seniority and power one who was noticeably brighter and—this was important—more personable than the average Illinois small city Republican lawyer. Their hope, of course, was that he would prove to be a solid bulwark of conservative Republicanism, a faithful foot-soldier his first few years and then some day perhaps a leader in the House Republican caucus. And, in many respects, Tom Railsback has realized these hopes, but in some respects he must have severely disappointed the old timers who first blessed his candidacy.

For Railsback, as most literate Americans know, was part of the minority of the Republican minority on the House Judiciary Committee which was as responsible as anyone for convincing the American Congress and people that Richard Nixon ought to be removed from office. Indeed, he may have been the key figure on the Republican side. He became convinced early that he would have to vote for impeachment, and as the hearings went on he began meeting with like-minded Republicans and later, Southern Democrats to formulate strategy and draw up articles of impeachment they could agree on. In the process, Railsback gained an impressive mastery of the facts of the case—and a fervor that gave a certain eloquence to a speaking style that otherwise was anything but eloquent.

Something was made by commentators of Railsback's political predicament, caught between Nixon-loving Republicans and Nixon-hating Democrats and Independents. Actually, it never was as bad as he seemed to think. The Republican primary had taken place back in March, and Railsback had been unopposed. In the general, he had the support not only of the local Republican Party, which generally could be counted on to carry most of the rural counties at the northern and southern extreme of his district, but also of the local United Auto Workers, with their large membership at the agricultural machinery plants at Rock Island and Moline, in and around which almost half the people in his 19th district live. When he came out for impeachment, he destroyed the only issue which could possibly have helped his Democratic opponent; the result, not surprisingly, was a solid 65-35 victory. Railsback has had a grueling tenth year in Congress; chances are he will have many more, perhaps less arduous.

The Democratic nominee, John Craver, is a small businessman and farmer who feels the 19th District should be represented by someone with working-class experience, as his is.

Census Data Pop. 462,085. Central city, 27%; suburban, 40%. Median family income, \$9,579; families above \$15,000: 17%; families below \$3,000: 9%. Median years education, 12.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 44.

Employment profile White collar, 39%. Blue collar, 39%. Service, 14%. Farm, 8%.

Ethnic groups Black, 2%. Spanish, 2%. Total foreign stock, 11%. Germany, Sweden, 2% each.



Rep. Tom Railsback (R) Elected 1966; b. Jan. 22, 1932, Moline; home, Moline; Grinnell Col., B.A. 1954, Northwestern U., J.D. 1957; Congregationalist.

Career Army, 1957-59; Practicing atty., 1957-67; Ill. House of Reps., 1963-67.

Offices 2431 RHOB, 202-225-5905. Also Rm. 228, Fed. Bldg., 211 19th St., Rock Island 61201, 309-794-1681.

Committees

District of Columbia (5th). Subcommittees: Education, Labor, and Social

Services; Judiciary.

Judiciary (3d). Subcommittees: Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice; Monopolies and Commercial Law.

Election Results

1974 general:	Tom Railsback (R)	84,049	(65%)	(\$61,789)
	Jim Gende (D)	44,677	(35%)	(\$43,533)
1974 primary:	Tom Railsback (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	Tom Railsback (R), unopposed			(\$25,610)
1976 primary:	Tom Railsback (R)	41,351		
	John Craver (D)	30,296		

Twentieth District

The 20th district of Illinois is a descendant of the district that sent Abraham Lincoln, then a young Springfield lawyer and Whig politician, to the House of Representatives in 1846. The western part of the district, at least, sometimes seems to have changed little since the nineteenth century. It remains a land of fertile prairies, the bottomland of the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, farm-marketing towns, and courthouse villages. The river port of Quincy on the Mississippi has not grown much since the turn of the century, nor has the little village of Nauvoo, from which the Mormons were expelled in the 1840s and led by Brigham Young to their promised land in Utah.

The largest city in the 20th district is Springfield (pop. 90,000). It must have been a bustling, perhaps even a gracious town in Abe Lincoln's and Mary Todd's time. Today it is a typical state capital: a middle-sized city with an old Capitol building, several not-so-elegant hotels, a small black ghetto, a little bit of industry, and a few shopping centers on the edge of town. Next to state government, the Lincoln tourist business seems to be the mainstay of the local economy.

On paper, the 20th is a politically marginal district. It sits right on the traditional boundary separating the Democratic counties to the south and the Republican ones to the north—a division that dates back to the days of Lincoln and Douglas. These same partisan preferences are still reflected in local elections, although in presidential contests the district has moved increasingly to the Republican side in recent years.

The 1960 census cost Illinois one congressional seat, and it came out of the rural areas in and near the current 20th. Two incumbents—Republican freshman Paul Findley and Democratic veteran Peter Mack—were forced to fight it out in the new 20th. Findley won that 1962 election and had precious little trouble winning for the next dozen years. A middle-ranking Republican on the Foreign Affairs Committee, Findley is considered a maverick not identified with any of the usual schools of thought. He has taken a particular interest in the affairs of NATO—an unusual preoccupation for a Congressman from an area that was traditionally known as isolationist. In the House generally, Findley is something of a loner, making his positions known in crisply articulated speeches but seldom gathering a bloc of votes around him. His rather diffident manner had proved popular with his constituents, but in 1974 he had a real contest. As in 1962, his opponent was Peter Mack, returning from his job at the Washington-based Southern Railway for a try in what presumably he perceived as a premier Democratic year. It was, and he reduced Findley's percentage from 69% to 55%—a formidable achievement but not, of course, one awarded with a seat in Congress. One may assume that Mack and others will draw the obvious lesson from this, to wit, that Findley cannot be beaten even in the most favorable of circumstances.

It might have appeared that Findley could not be beaten. However, Mack is trying again this year, and was rewarded with more votes in the primary than the combined votes of Findley and his Republican challenger. This may, however, be only another instance of Republicans crossing over to vote in the more interesting Democratic Primary.

Census Data Pop. 464,551. Central city, 20%; suburban, 31%. Median family income, \$9,269; families above \$15,000: 17%; families below \$3,000: 10%. Median years education, 12.0.

The Voters

Median voting age 46.

Employment profile White collar, 46%. Blue collar, 33%. Service, 14%. Farm, 7%.

Ethnic groups Black, 4%. Total foreign stock, 8%. Germany, 2%; Italy, UK, 1% each.



Rep. Paul Findley (R) Elected 1960; b. June 23, 1921, Jacksonville; home, Pittsfield; Ill. Col. B.A. 1943; Congregationalist.

Career Navy, WWII; Pres., Pike Press, Inc., 1947-60.

Offices 2133 RHOB, 202-225-5271. Also 205 Fed. Bldg., Springfield 62701, 217,525-4231.

Committees

Agriculture (3d). Subcommittees: Domestic Marketing and Consumer Relations; Livestock and Grains; Oilseeds and Rice.

Security and Scientific Affairs. **International Relations (3d).** International Organizations; International Affairs.

Election Results

1974 general:	Paul Findley (R)	84,426	(55%)	(\$118,162)
	Peter F. Mack (D)	69,551	(45%)	(\$53,369)
1974 primary:	Paul Findley (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	Paul Findley (R)	148,419	(69%)	(\$71,187)
	Robert S. O'Shea (D)	67,445	(31%)	(\$15,671)
1976 primary:	Peter Mack (D).....	57,295		
	Paul Findley (R).....	36,139		
	Hank McCune (R).....	4,017		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	137,414	(64%)
	McGovern (D)	78,281	(36%)
1968	Nixon (R)	106,487	(50%)
	Humphrey (D)	87,504	(41%)
	Wallace (AI)	20,215	(9%)

Group Ratings / Findley

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	37	18	40	68
1974	58	20	71	36
1973	64	27	44	58
1972	25	18	29	70
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	89	92	54	
1973	75	93	58	
1972	64	78	47	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	17	67	50	
1973	63	—	—	
1972	100	92	71	

Key Votes / Findley

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortn Aid	ABS
7) Coed Phys Ed	ABS
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	AGN
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	ABS
13) Youth Camp Regs	ABS
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Findley

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/ Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Twenty-first District

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	117,230	(62%)
	McGovern (D)	70,380	(38%)
1968	Nixon (R)	88,585	(53%)
	Humphrey (D)	65,529	(39%)
	Wallace (AI)	14,063	(8%)

Group Ratings / Madigan

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	21	39	36	63
1974	29	40	71	57
1973	17	27	42	73
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	75	69	27	
1973	82	87	16	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	31	60	78	
1973	38	—	—	

Key Votes / Madigan

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	AGN
11) Pub Cong Election \$	FOR
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	AGN
13) Youth Camp Regs	AGN
14) Strip Mine Veto	FOR
15) Farm Bill Veto	FOR

Voting Record / Madigan

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); No. 55 (pp 6-8 or 14-18); and No. 47 (pp 6-11 or 15-16).

Downstate Illinois has always been regarded as overwhelmingly Republican. But that has never really been the case. The largest Republican margins in Illinois come out of the Chicago suburbs, and except for the fertile farmlands in the north central part of the state, Downstate might more accurately be described as marginally Republican. Take, for example, the 21st congressional district, located about halfway between Chicago and St. Louis. The 21st lies in flat prairie farm country, but most of its population is concentrated in three urban areas: Decatur (pop. 90,000), a factory town; Champaign-Urbana (total pop. 89,000), home of the University of Illinois; and Bloomington (pop. 66,000 with the suburb of Normal), an insurance town and ancestral home of the Stevenson family. These places are listed in the order of their traditional Democratic inclinations, but of late there have been changes, due primarily to the student vote. Some 15% of the eligible electorate here are college students—the largest proportion in Illinois, and obviously enough to tip a close election, if they get out and vote.

The sudden increase in student—and, presumably, Democratic—votes may have contributed to the 1972 retirement of 11-term incumbent William L. Springer. A knowledgeable conservative, Springer was ranking Republican and often the dominant voice on the House Commerce Committee; after retirement, he was nominated and, despite some opposition, confined to sit on the Federal Power Commission. Springer is the kind of Congressman one would expect to find in a Downstate Illinois district; his successor is a little different. He is, to be sure, a Republican, former state Representative Edward Madigan, from one of the smallest and most Republican counties in the district.

Apparently the 21st's voters expected him to vote much as Springer did; Madigan lost Champaign-Urbana and only carried Macon County (Decatur) by a hair in the 1972 election. But the then 36-year-old Congressman turned out to have more liberal proclivities than one might have thought. He was, for example, against the bombing of Cambodia, and for opening the highway trust fund to mass transit expenditures. He was also the only Illinois Republican to increase his percentage of the vote between the Republican year of 1972 and the Democratic year of 1974—from 55% to a very solid indeed 66%. Madigan turns 40 as 1976 begins, and he can be expected to remain in the House for many terms to come.

His Democratic opponent holds the State Central Committee post from her district in Champaign County, is vice-chairman of the State Democratic Party, is a member of the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Committee, and serves on the executive board of the National Democratic State Chairmen's Association and on a Presidential Primary study commission. Anna Wall Scott is a college professor, psychiatric social worker, and member of the NAACP and League of Women Voters, among others. She lost some support from her natural constituency — students and intellectuals from the university campus — when she allied with Mayor Daley after being elected to the Central Committee.

Census Data Pop. 464,693. Central city, 53%; suburban, 31%. Median family income, \$10,043; families above \$15,000: 21%; families below \$3,000: 7%. Median years education, 12.3.

The Voters

Median voting age 38.

Employment profile White collar, 51%. Blue collar, 29%. Service, 15%. Farm, 5%.

Ethnic groups Black, 5%. Total foreign stock, 7%. Germany, 2%.



Rep. Edward R. Madigan (R) Elected 1972; b. Jan. 13, 1936, Lincoln, home, Lincoln; Lincoln Col.; Catholic.

Career Owner, taxi and car leasing co.; Lincoln Bd. of Zoning Appeals; Ill. House of Reps., 1967-72.

Offices 1728 LHOB, 202-225-2371. Also 200 W. Church St., Champaign 61820, 217-356-8633.

Committees

Agriculture (7th). Subcommittees: Conservation and Credit; Tobacco.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce (12th). Subcommittees: Communications; Oversight and Investigations.

Election Results

1974 general:	Edward R. Madigan (R)	78,640	(66%)	(\$68,372)
	Richard N. Small (D)	40,896	(34%)	(\$21,431)
1974 primary:	Edward R. Madigan (R), unopposed			
1972 general:	Edward R. Madigan (R)	99,966	(55%)	(\$85,958)
	Lawrence E. Johnson (D)	82,523	(45%)	(\$29,802)
1976 primary:	Edward R. Madigan (R)	44,211		
	Anna Wall Scott (D)	29,553		

Twenty-second District

In years past, the assumption was that any Congressman who accumulated substantial seniority must hold a "safe" seat; else he would have been swept out of office in one of the periodic landslides won by the other party. That is decidedly not the case any more. And one good example of why not is Congressman George Shipley of the 22d district of Illinois. Still under 50, Shipley is already the tenth-ranking Democrat (out of 37) on the House Appropriations Committee, and the second-ranking member on its Agriculture and Legislative Subcommittees. Yet Shipley has held what must be counted as an exceedingly marginal district, and has been a top priority target for Republican campaigners in virtually every election since he first won the seat by 187 votes in the very Democratic year of 1958.

Why has Shipley continued to win? At first glance, the 22d does not look like promising Democratic territory. It is a collection of 20 predominantly rural Downstate Illinois counties; its largest cities are Danville (pop. 42,000) and Mattoon (pop. 19,000), neither known as bulwarks of Democratic strength. Few of these counties go Democratic in presidential or statewide races these days, although in landslides (Johnson 1964, Stevenson 1974) most do. But the people here are not the ancestral Republicans of northern Downstate Illinois. This area was settled largely by Southerners in the nineteenth century; people still have a noticeable drawl, and the whole area went for Douglas rather than Lincoln in 1858. Local elections are often won by Democrats, and so there was a partisan base for Shipley, himself a former county sheriff, to build on.

The other difference between Shipley and Congressmen from the forties and fifties who had lost, helplessly, when their party was in trouble, was the increasing advantages of incumbency—and the jet plane. Just as he was beginning his years in Congress, members from both parties were beginning to take advantage, in a major way, of the free congressional mailing privilege and the ability of Congressmen to handle constituents' problems with the federal and other governments to build a personal popularity base, in excess of party strength. Moreover, the early sixties was also the time when jet travel began, and a Congressman like Shipley could make it from his Capitol Hill office to Chicago or St. Louis, and thence on a smaller plane to his district, in two to three hours. So the voters of the 22d district could be exposed, just about every weekend rather than only on congressional recesses, to Shipley's genial, folksy personality and his assiduous campaigning.

Nevertheless, the apparent unpopularity of national Democratic policies in this area made Shipley a continued target. In 1970, he won only 54% of the vote against right-wing writer and activist Phyllis Schlafly, who since has become the nation's leading crusader against the Equal Rights Amendment. (Mrs. Schlafly believes that women's place is in the home; however, to allow her to keep up with her hectic schedule, she has a staff of servants.) Then, the 1972 redistricting plan badly hurt Shipley; a majority of the 22d district, as then drawn, was new to him. Nevertheless, he beat his active Republican opponent by a 53-47 margin in the new areas and clobbered him 64-36 in the old. In 1974, Shipley increased his margins slightly; he now seems to have transformed what was a prime marginal district into a safe seat.

That leaves him, presumably, more time to devote to his duties on the Appropriations Committee. He is not the most liberal of Democrats, and is basically more in sympathy with the oldtimers on the committee than with the new young liberals who control the party caucus. On the basis of strict seniority, Shipley is almost a sure bet to become Appropriations Chairman some day; he is 49, while each of the nine more senior members is at least 65.

Shipley's opponent this November is Dr. Ralph McGinnis, a professor of speech and communications at Eastern Illinois University. McGinnis has never held public office but has lectured about it widely and has been active in civic organizations.

Census Data Pop. 464,121. Central city, 0%; suburban, 1%. Median family income, \$8,350; families above \$15,000: 13%; families below \$3,000: 12%. Median years education, 11.4.

The Voters

Median voting age 47.

Employment profile White collar, 37%. Blue collar, 40%. Service, 13%. Farm, 10%.

Ethnic groups Black, 1%. Total foreign stock, 4%. Germany, 1%.



Rep. George E. Shipley (D) Elected 1958; b. Apr. 21, 1927, Olney; home, Olney; Baptist.

Career Richland Co. Deputy Sheriff, 1950-54, Sheriff 1954-58.

Offices 237 CHOB, 202-225-5001. Also 111 S. Boone St., Olney 62450, 618-395-2171.

Committees

Appropriations (10th). Subcommittees: Agriculture: HUD-Independent Agencies; Legislative.

Election Results

1974 general:	George E. Shipley (D)	97,921	(60%)	(\$50,328)
	William A. Young (R)	65,731	(40%)	(\$91,781)
1974 primary:	George E. Shipley (D), unopposed			
1972 general:	George E. Shipley (D)	124,589	(57%)	(\$52,812)
	Robert B. Lamkin (R)	90,390	(41%)	(\$83,554)
	Cleo A. Duzan (Ind.)	5,389	(2%)	
1976 primary:	George E. Shipley (D)	57,629		
	Ralph Y. McGinnis (R)	36,223		

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	141,820	(64%)
	McGovern (D)	80,804	(36%)
1968	Nixon (R)	117,778	(53%)
	Humphrey (D)	83,137	(37%)
	Wallace (AI)	22,977	(10%)

Group Ratings / Shipley

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	42	86	70	40
1974	36	44	85	50
1973	50	91	100	46
1972	25	67	83	57

	LWV	RIPON	LCV
1974	33	17	69
1973	58	46	22
1972	27	31	25

	CFA	NAB	NSI
1974	18	78	80
1973	63	—	—
1972	100	30	67

Key Votes / Shipley

1) Foreign Aid	AGN
2) Busing	AGN
3) ABM	AGN
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	AGN
6) Gov Abortion Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	ABS
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	FOR
9) Pub Trans Sub	ABS
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election \$	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Shipley

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Presidential vote

1972	Nixon (R)	87,654	(53%)
	McGovern (D)	76,971	(47%)
1968	Nixon (R)	59,899	(35%)
	Humphrey (D)	83,886	(49%)
	Wallace (AI)	26,675	(16%)

Group Ratings / Price

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	58	100	91	12
1974	43	100	93	13
1973	72	100	100	12
1972	69	91	71	17
	LWV	RIPON	LCV	
1974	83	38	59	
1973	92	80	74	
1972	92	76	47	
	CFA	NAB	NSI	
1974	83	0	80	
1973	88	-	-	
1972	100	9	90	

Key Votes / Price

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	FOR
3) ABM	FOR
4) B-1 Bomber	FOR
5) Nerve Gas	FOR
6) Gov Abortn Aid	AGN
7) Coed Phys Ed	AGN
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	AGN
9) Pub Trans Sub	FOR
10) EZ Voter Regis	FOR
11) Pub Cong Election S	AGN
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	FOR
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Price

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/Midwest issues: No. 71 (pp 22-23); No. 67 (pp 20, 26-27); No. 63 (p 19); No. 62 (p 26, 32 or 30, 35); and No. 55 (p 19 or 20).

Twenty-third District

The 23d congressional district of Illinois is the area around East St. Louis's Gateway Arch, where one can see East St. Louis, Belleville, and Granite City through the smog across the Mississippi River. These are not verdant St. Louis suburbs, but grimy industrial towns criss-crossed by miles of railroad track. They have all the problems usually associated with core-city areas: air pollution, inadequate housing, crime, and a declining tax base. East St. Louis became a majority black town in the sixties, but when the blacks took over city hall, they found the treasury virtually bare. The Illinois side of the St. Louis metropolitan area has a disproportionate share of its poor and low-income working-class residents; the rich stay very much on the Missouri side of the River.

The 23d is easily the most Democratic of all the Downstate Illinois congressional districts. But as in many working-class areas, the Democratic majority has disappeared in recent presidential elections: Humphrey won the district with only a plurality as George Wallace took 16% of the vote; McGovern lost the district altogether by a narrow margin. But in local elections, the 23d has remained as Democratic as it ever was. The last time a Republican was elected Congressman here was in 1942. He was defeated in 1944 by Democrat Mel Price, who has been reelected ever since—by margins of better than 2-1 since 1962 and with 80% of the vote in 1974.

In Congress, Price holds two key positions which, together, give him jurisdiction over a lion's share of the federal budget. He is a top member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, serving on a rotating basis as Chairman during the 93d Congress. The Joint Committee has worked especially closely with the agency—now the agencies, since the old Atomic Energy Commission has been split in two—it oversees since it was created just after World War II. An original member of the Joint Committee, Price was a friend of longtime Chairman, former congressman Chet Holifield of California, and shared his belief in the basic purposes and practices of the AEC. Price is, for example, a backer of the controversial breeder reactor, and he was one of the authors of the Price-Anderson Act, which by providing federal insurance tends to set limits on the amount of private insurance operators of nuclear reactors must carry.

But even more important, Price is the new Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. It is not a post he sought. Following the 1974 election, he was scheduled to be the second-ranking Democrat on the Committee, behind Chairman Edward Hebert of Louisiana. But the Democratic caucus, spurred by freshmen, dumped the autocratic Hebert, who could not hide his contempt for their different views, and installed Price. He is expected to be more even-handed than Hebert, but on basic policy questions he comes out the same way. Price, like so many members who served during World War II, believes in at least as large a defense budget as at present, and is not in particular sympathy with those who want to end U. S. military aid in Southeast Asia—although he has voted on occasion against the bombing of Cambodia. Indeed, some doves on the Committee have mixed feeling about Price's promotion; they believe he will be able to carry his bills on the floor more easily than Hebert would have.

Price has only taken opposition in November.

Census Data Pop. 462,960. Central city, 0%; suburban, 100%. Median family income, \$9,872; families above \$15,000: 18%; families below \$3,000: 10%. Median years education, 11.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 43.

Employment profile White collar, 45%. Blue collar, 41%. Service, 13%. Farm, 1%.

Ethnic groups Black, 15%. Spanish, 1%. Total foreign stock, 8%. Germany, 2%.

Rep. Melvin Price (D) Elected 1944; b. Jan. 1, 1905, East St. Louis; home, East St. Louis; St. Louis U., 1923-25; Catholic

Career Newspaper correspondent, E. St. Louis *Journal*, St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*; Sports ed., E. St. Louis *News-Review*; St. Clair Co. Bd. of Supervisors, 1929-31; Secy. to U.S. Rep. Edwin M. Schaefer, 1933-43; Army, WWII.

Offices 2468 RHOB, 202-225-5661; Also Fed. Bldg., 650 Missouri Ave., East St. Louis 62201, 618-274-2200.

Committees

Armed Services (Chairman). Subcommittees: Military Compensation; Research and Development (Chairman); Special Subcommittee on Intelligence.

Standards of Official Conduct (2d).

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (Vice Chairman).

Election Results

1974 general:	Melvin Price (D)	78,347	(80%)	(\$27,847)
	Scott R. Randolph (R)	18,987	(20%)	(\$670)
1974 primary:	Melvin Price (D)	43,131	(90%)	
	William Ray Bordeaux (D)	4,659	(10%)	
1972 general:	Melvin Price (D)	121,682	(75%)	(\$17,134)
	Robert Mays (R)	40,428	(25%)	(\$2,734)
1976 primary:	Melvin Price (D)	56,971		
	Sam P. Drenovac (R)	8,743		

Twenty-fourth District

Egypt is the name given the southernmost part of Illinois—the flat, fertile farmland where the Ohio River joins the Mississippi. This is low, alluvial land, subject to floods almost as often as ancient Egypt; it is protected today by giant levees, which rise above the fields and hide a view of the rivers. There is more than a touch of Dixie here: the southern tip of Illinois is closer to Jackson, Mississippi, than to Chicago. The unofficial capital of Egypt is Cairo (pronounced KAY-roh), a declining town at the exact confluence of the two rivers. In recent years, Cairo has been the scene of a virtual war between its white majority and large black minority; it must surely be one of the grimmest small towns in America.

There are no official boundaries to Egypt, but it is safe to say that the 24th congressional district goes north considerably beyond them. The district takes in the coal-mining country around West Frankfort and Marion; this is one of the most heavily strip-mined areas in the United States. It extends almost to the suburbs of St. Louis, and includes Carbondale, site of troubled Southern Illinois University. (There was town-gown fighting here in the early sixties, and later the university president, a former Nixon pollster, fired many tenured faculty members.) Virtually all this territory is Democratic in most elections, whether from ancestral Southern allegiance, or because of coal miners' proclivities, or from the SIU students' preference for antiwar candidates. It has not been very supportive of national Democratic candidates, but in congressional races it has not veered from the Democrats for the last twenty years.

For most of that time, from 1954 to 1974, the Congressman from the district was Kenneth J. Gray, who deserves at least a footnote here. Besides being a politician, Gray also flew airplanes and helicopters, owned an airport, was the Congress's only licensed auctioneer, and an amateur magician. Once on the floor of the House, to demonstrate the effect a proposed public works project would have on his district, Gray produced a bouquet of red roses from his sleeve. As a senior member of Public Works, he was a devout pork-barreler, pushing projects for his district as if his political life depended on it—as it probably did in the fifties. He also was the major force behind the idea of remodeling Union Station in Washington to be a national visitors' center—a project that has resulted so far only in the evisceration of the station's lobby. During his career, Gray became chummy with who knows how many lobbyists, and when he retired in 1974 at the tender age of 50 he must have expected them to take care of him. To judge from subsequent news reports, they haven't, and Gray is apparently in trouble now for having allegedly used campaign funds to buy a helicopter and a white Cadillac limousine—and then having sold them and enjoyed the use of the money.

Gray's successor is quite another kind of politician: an almost austere liberal named Paul Simon. Formerly the editor of a small newspaper in the town of Troy, near East St. Louis, Simon was elected to the legislature as an independent Democrat and became known not only for his honesty, but also for his legislative skill. A strong liberal, he had backing from organized labor and independent elements and support from the Daley machine as well when he ran for Lieutenant Governor in 1968. Although a Republican won the top spot, Simon won too. He looked like a cinch for the gubernatorial nomination in 1972, as a man acceptable to all segments of the party, and would probably have beaten incumbent Richard Ogilvie, who had sponsored an income tax. But Simon refused to say that he would repeal the tax, while his opponent, the anti-Daley former Montgomery Ward executive Daniel Walker, hinted he would. Walker barely won the primary, with heavy support Downstate, and Simon retired to a professorship at SIU.

There he was, well within the bounds of the 24th district, when Kenny Gray announced he would retire. Simon was the obvious candidate, winning the primary with 68% of the vote and the general with 60%. At 48, with his old-fashioned horn-rimmed glasses, he does not fit the image of 1975's freshman Democrat, but he has supported all the reforms, and has the advantage of a safe district which will reelect him as long as he runs.

Simon's opponent this November is a political newcomer, Peter Prineas, a self-employed consulting engineer.

Census Data Pop. 465,018. Central city, 0%; suburban, 0%. Median family income, \$7,501; families above \$15,000: 11%; families below \$3,000: 17%. Median years education, 10.1.

The Voters

Median voting age 47.

Employment profile White collar, 38%. Blue collar, 40%. Service, 15%. Farm, 7%.

Ethnic groups Black, 4%. Total foreign stock, 5%. Germany, 1%.



Rep. Paul Simon (D) Elected 1974; b. Nov. 29, 1928, Eugene, Oreg.; home, Carbondale; U. of Oreg., 1945-46, Dana Col., 1946-48; Lutheran.

Career Editor-Publisher, *Troy Tribune*, and newspaper weekly chain owner, 1948-66; Army, 1951-53; Ill. House of Reps., 1955-63; Ill. Senate 1963-69; Lt. Gov. of Ill., 1969-73; Candidate for Dem. nomination for Gov., 1972; Instructor, Sangamon St. U., 1973.

Offices 1724 LHOB, 202-225-5201. Also 107 Glenview Dr., Carbondale 62901, 618-457-4171.

Committees

Education and Labor (22d). Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education; Labor Standards; Post-secondary Education.

Post Office and Civil Service (16th). Subcommittees: Census and Population; Postal Facilities and Mail and Labor Management; Postal Service.

Election Results

1974 general:

Paul Simon (D) 108,417 (60%) (\$223,163)
Val Oshel (R) 73,634 (40%) (\$50,566)

1974 primary:

Paul Simon (D) 47,727 (68%)
Joe R. Browning (D) 22,024 (32%)

1976 primary:

Paul Simon (D) 69,977
Peter G. Prineas (R) 29,944

Presidential vote

1972 Nixon (R) 138,435 (60%)
McGovern (D) 92,910 (40%)
1968 Nixon (R) 112,667 (49%)
Humphrey (D) 92,479 (41%)
Wallace (AI) 23,147 (10%)

Group Ratings / Simon

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
1975	89	91	82	18
1974				

Key Votes

1) Foreign Aid	FOR
2) Busing	NE
3) ABM	NE
4) B-1 Bomber	AGN
5) Nerve Gas	NE
6) Gov Abortion Aid	NE
7) Coed Phys Ed	FOR
8) Pov Lawyer Gag	NE
9) Pub Trans Sub	NE
10) EZ Voter Regis	NE
11) Pub Cong Election \$	NE
12) Turkish Arms Cutoff	NE
13) Youth Camp Regs	FOR
14) Strip Mine Veto	AGN
15) Farm Bill Veto	AGN

Voting Record / Simon

For detailed Voting Records see FOCUS/
Midwest issue: No. 71 (pp 22-23).

Missouri Amendments and Proposition Endorsed

continued from page seven

Some opponents contend that a tax credit would be preferable to eliminating the sales tax on food and medicine. But experience has proven otherwise. First, many of the poorest families have no income tax liability and thus would fail to claim any credit for sales taxes paid. Second, credits are often set at levels lower than the taxes paid, and usually do not keep pace with inflation. For these reasons, three states have discarded the credit system and replaced it with the food tax exemption since 1973.

Despite contentions by opponents, there is no correlation between regressive tax systems and high levels of public service, nor between regressive tax systems and the willingness of corporations to locate in a given state. To the contrary, corporations (and thus jobs) locate where educational and recreational opportunities are plentiful. And public services such as these are more likely in states with progressive tax systems — which, incidentally, often are a reflection of an enlightened administration.

UE threatens the state of Missouri with economic depression, and has said that Missouri would be the only state in the nation to outlaw CWIP, if Proposition No. 1 passes. However, an exhaustive review of utility regulations throughout the country shows that 21 states do not allow CWIP, and that at least half again as many allow CWIP only during the last few months before a plant becomes fully operational. The federal government recently ruled out CWIP on

utility rates under its purview. NRC chairman Jensch has said that CWIP should not be utilized. And most economists agree that CWIP constitutes an unwarranted interference with interest rates by which our free enterprise system allocates scarce financial resources to the most productive enterprises.

UE maintains that for each \$1 customers invest now, they will eventually save \$2.50. Proponents say that such promises depend on a host of factors mentioned above, and that according to UE's own figures, customers will not break even, if at all, until after the 21st year. Whether customers will save anything will also depend on inflation rates; one of today's dollars may be equal to 2½ of tomorrow's dollars. Through CWIP, customers are forced to invest in the power plant, to place their money, which they might need, at the disposal of the utility company.

The Missouri Public Service Commission set an unfortunate precedent last December by allowing UE to charge financing and taxes for CWIP. Already the PSC has extended CWIP to Kansas City Power and Light Company for two smaller plants. Proposition No. 1, like the sales tax amendment, once again simply reallocates resources. Defeat would take from consumers and give to utilities. Missouri citizens can stop this and reverse these PSC rulings by voting YES on Proposition No. 1.

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- U.S. vs Pulitzer & Newhouse
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- Press coddles United Fund
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